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And still they answered the call: The women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947 (Ontario)

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And Still they Answered the Call:

The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947.

By

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Preface

The objective of this thesis is to examine aspects of the experience of women in Waterloo County during the Second World War. Waterloo County, with its strong industrial base and unique concentration of training centres for both the army and navy women's corps, provides an ideal opportunity to study women's experience of war and to relate it to the existing historiography, especially the dominant work, Ruth Roach Pierson's *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood.*

The argument of this thesis is that evidence from Waterloo County suggests that Pierson has underestimated both qualitative and quantitative changes in the role and self-image of women during the war years. The view, advanced by Pierson, that women failed to build upon their war-time experience to achieve liberation in the post-war world is directly contradicted by employment data from Waterloo County and other evidence. This thesis suggests that much was accomplished and most of it was of lasting value.

There is not a wide body of research on Canadian women in the Second World War and what does exist is primarily written at the national level. Ruth Pierson wrote the only major work on the subject and has faced little dissent in the Canadian literature. The only exceptions are two articles written by Jeff Keshen and Barbara Winters. Keshen focuses on revising Pierson's ideas on volunteerism and women in the work force and Winters provides a new look into women's military service in the Second World War. I hope to contribute to the study of women in the Second World War by providing new insights through the study of the reactions of the people of Waterloo County to the changing roles of women. Historians writing about Waterloo County have long focused

their attention on the area's Mennonite and German ethnic minorities. This thesis does not address such issues. Waterloo County was selected for study because it was an important industrial centre with two large training bases for women in the services and is the author's place of residence.

I expected to find that people were hesitant to accept the new roles of women, especially the creation of the women's military corps, but that out of economic and military necessity attitudes became accepting of women participating in the war effort in both industry and the military. Furthermore, I expected to find that participation in the Second World War was a launching pad for women's rights and created the beginnings of a women's liberation movement- a revisionist approach to women's history in the Second World War that would have us believe that the end of the war was a step back for women's liberation.

The research focuses primarily on the *Kitchener Daily Record* and *Galt Reporter* between 1939 and 1947. Newspapers are a valuable primary source that allows researchers to look at the ideas of a community. Through editorials, letters to the editor, advertising and reporting on speeches and the behaviour of citizens, newspapers can give researchers a sense of the attitudes and values of a cross section of the population of the time. By expanding that research base to include interviews, letters, diaries and military reports from the local and national archives I was able to read first hand what women thought about the changes they were facing and how they felt the community around them was responding.

The experiences of Waterloo County's women throughout World War II lends greater credibility to the idea that the war created new opportunities for women and was

one of the steps towards women's liberation. The experiences of these women demonstrates continuity of these experiences into the post-war years, even though at times it is limited progress. The introduction of this work focuses on the historiography of the field in order to provide readers with an understanding of the debate over women's liberation during the Second World War. The next part of this work will examine Waterloo County's women's volunteer groups. It will argue that the actions of these women were indispensable to the area throughout the war and that the efforts of these women revitalized women's organizations. The third part of the work will examine women in Waterloo County's workforce. This section will demonstrate that the definition of women's work did grow throughout the war and that choice was the primary reason for the temporary drop in the percentage of women in the workforce in Waterloo County after 1945. The next section will explore the changing ways that women were portrayed in popular culture and advertising through the images of women that appeared in the *Kitchener Daily Record* and the *Galt Reporter*. The final section will explore life in the military from the training centres in Waterloo County to the further wartime experiences of Kay Hall of Toronto and Jean Sivyer of Kitchener, two army veterans who trained in Kitchener and remained in the forces until the end of the war. This section will demonstrate that the community in Waterloo County was supportive and proud of its army and navy daughters and that the experiences of the female soldiers and sailors were a step towards liberation despite the disbandment of the services at the war's end. In all of these sections, continuity is examined as a key factor in the process of liberation.

There were several aspects of World War II and women's liberation that Pierson discusses in detail that will not be dealt with in this paper. The main reason for this is

that some of the topics did not apply to the sources found for Waterloo County. For example, Pierson discusses the differences in the treatment of Venereal Disease (VD) in the army for male and female soldiers. There were no sources in the local literature that focused on VD in the military. Furthermore, the inequalities and problems that women faced in relation to sexual behaviours are not in doubt. Women faced discrimination in many ways throughout the war and not every experience was liberating however, that does not mean that women did not make any progress towards liberation.

The narrow focus of this study creates some limitations in the analysis. At times, it is difficult to separate national data from regional data. This is especially true of the military section where wages and protocols were established at the national level. In addition, this study cannot speak for Canada as a whole; it can only speak to the experiences of Waterloo County. The differences between the national literature and the regional literature do raise questions about the national thesis presented by Pierson, but the example of Waterloo County alone cannot answer them.

The women of Waterloo County, as with many regions across Canada, did as much as they could to support the war effort. They did not receive equal pay for equal work, they did not achieve complete equality at the war's end, nor were they promised any such things and still they answered the call of their country in its time of need. By answering the call they advanced the cause of women, however, the goal was to win the war against Hitler, not a gender war and when victory came many of Canada's women had their reward.

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I cannot forget my family. My mother and her husband Catherine and David Lund, as well as my parents, Derek and Greta Dunlop created my curiosity for history through our family pictures and tours of Scotland. Both of my sets of parents provided a great deal of support to me throughout the past year. Not to forget my brothers Chris and Derek Dunlop whose mischief, recklessness and European tour over the past year have provided much needed comic relief in my life and a twinge of jealousy. I love them a great deal and am happy when they are around.

Finally, I would like to thank Terry Copp for agreeing to supervise my work over the past year. I feel tremendously lucky to have had a chance to work with a man whose writings I enjoy and work I respect. Thank-you for your advice throughout this project, I hope that I will be able to apply it all in the coming years and become a historian who is able to follow your example.

Heather L. Moran

Historiographical Introduction

The study of the impact of the Second World War on the women of Canada must begin with a consideration of the pioneering work of Ruth Roach Pierson. Dr. Pierson began to study the topic in the mid-1970s, publishing papers and articles that were compiled as a book, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* in 1986. Pierson's research focused on the voluntary efforts of women, national employment policies, the recruitment and training of women for the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the various government initiatives on moral questions related to the wartime roles of women. Pierson concluded that the women's wartime experience failed to significantly alter "the male dominated sex/gender system of Canadian society" and failed to liberate women from "patriarchal divisions of labour and conceptions of proper womanhood."[1] Pierson's research, based on sources generated by the government departments and commissions, presents a convincing picture of government policy, but the sources used do not allow for the study of such policies on women in specific communities. National statistics on matters such as post-war employment are equally ill-suited for community-based research.

All three areas central to Pierson's examination of women's contribution to the war, volunteerism, the work force and the military are discussed in the Canadian and international historiographical literature. Other than Pierson's book the only other Canadian sources, that were appropriate to use in the comparison of the literature were the articles written by Jeff Keshen and Barbara Winters. With so few Canadian sources, international works had to be employed to understand the debate over this subject. There were some difficulties in comparing the Canadian and international literature since the

authors had used many nation-specific examples to support their arguments. For instance, much of the Australian literature on this subject focused on the influx of men to that country throughout the war as central to some of the arguments about sexuality and war. In the American case there were several different laws passed that simply did not apply to the Canadian case, one example is that the American Women's Army Corps (WAAC) was not disbanded at the war's end whereas the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) was disbanded. Since many of these examples and thus arguments did not apply to the Canadian case, this study will only examine the portions of the authors' arguments that do not step outside of the Canadian experience or that have a similar Canadian example.

Continuity is an important aspect of the historiographical debate over whether the Second World War was a step in the liberation of women. Authors such as Pierson and her international supporters like Karen Anderson[2] do not argue that women did not have liberating experiences during the war. Rather they focus on aspects of the war that may have seemed liberating, but actually were not and whether or not the liberating experiences lasted into the post-war. Without continuity of experience, these authors do not feel that there can be any affects on the liberation of women. For this reason this paper will attempt to focus on arguments that do provide examples of continuity into the post-war.

Women's volunteerism and unpaid labour were central to the war effort in the allied nations. Women's volunteer organizations coordinated efforts to raise money through the purchase of war bonds and war stamps, wrote letters to the soldiers, set-up and monitored blood banks, collected used clothing for refugees, and raised money for

war causes. In addition to these responsibilities, women's groups also monitored inflation for the Canadian government by going to the local stores with a pen and paper to write down the price and availability of the items for sale and reporting any unusual amounts to the rationing board in their area, who would then inform the appropriate government agency. Housewives also contributed greatly to the war effort, primarily by minimizing waste in their homes. They also respected the limits of rationing, collected materials for recycling and grew victory gardens in their yards to help with the war effort.

All of the authors read for this paper agree that women's volunteerism was vital to the war effort. Pierson recognizes that women volunteers gained a position of authority, to a degree, in their country through the many newspaper accounts and through government advertising campaigns that put a spotlight on women's unpaid war labour throughout the war. The news articles praised women's efforts and recognized the valuable contribution that women were making towards the war effort. The government shared the newspapers' attitudes, also bringing acclaim to the women's efforts. However, the government of Canada did not recognize the efforts of the women enough, or appear to take their efforts as an indication that women could be a part of the decision-making process of society. When the post-war committees for reconstruction were being created, women had to lobby to try to gain membership on the committees despite their important wartime efforts. The Canadian government decided that women would be allowed to sit on their own committee on the post-war problems of women. The government only gave the women ten seats on that committee, which still allowed men to have a great say in the affairs of women in the post-war. The additional snub that women

were given was that they did not have a voice on any of the other post-war planning committees.

Ruth Pierson argues that women's volunteer work did nothing to help the position of women in Canadian society. The government had relied on these women to support the war effort without pay and refused to allow them to participate in the decision-making processes that would shape the country in the post-war. Pierson argues that women did not create a more equal distribution of power between the genders since the government was unwilling to allow women participation in decision-making.[3]

Jeff Keshen challenges Pierson's assessment through an examination of what women's volunteerism allowed women to achieve at the community level. Keshen argues that although women's volunteerism and unpaid labour may have stereotyped women as household managers, it also provided women a degree of authority within their communities and a job that the government and media presented as crucial.[4] In addition, women's roles in their households created new work for women that also contributed to their position in their families. Women had additional household duties such as the complete management of the household finances, ordering the coal and ice deliveries, chopping the wood, and cleaning the furnaces. They also had to serve as healthcare providers for their families due to fewer numbers of available doctors in communities and women took on the role of being the sole disciplinarian of the household's children.[5]

Keshen's argument is that through sitting on important committees such as the rationing committee in their local areas, women were provided with some authority in their community.[6] This implies a greater sharing of decision-making and power at the community level, although it does not demonstrate continuity. In addition, the praise that

the volunteers and housewives received "may well have raised the station and confidence of women within a number of families." He maintains that the "enhanced recognition and self-confidence acquired through voluntary activities or within the confines of the family unit were important, if not crucial, in the personal development of numerous women."[7] Personal development and the growth of confidence implies continuity into the post-war in the mindset of women and a change in the way in which they see themselves.

Through the example of volunteerism during the Second World War, the importance of continuity to the debate already becomes clear. Pierson argues that since there was no continuity in the sharing of power and decision-making between the genders women's volunteerism did nothing to promote women's liberation. The experience is not enough for Pierson; it must also have made a lasting impact on the roles of women and their position in society. In contrast, Keshen did provide evidence that demonstrated a sharing of power and greater authority for women during the war that did not continue into the post-war to support his argument that women gained a voice in their communities. Pierson would most likely rebuke Keshen's argument on the grounds that he has not proven continuity.

In the beginning of 1942, the Canadian government created the National Selective Service (NSS). The primary responsibility of the NSS was to coordinate and direct the total mobilization of the Canadian workforce. A key feature of this program was the registration of women for employment in war industry. By early 1943, the NSS had begun to recruit married and older women for employment, at first part-time and then as the war progressed, for full-time positions to aid the war effort. Married and older

women had not been considered for employment, since they had traditionally not been a part of the workforce, until the need for manpower became urgent. Other changes to the roles of women in the workforce had to be made to respond to the growing need for men to join the armed forces. Women were trained to take on positions in manufacturing plants that had traditionally only been open to men. Furthermore, higher paying white collar jobs such as clerical and banking jobs were also opened up to women during the war.

Despite the new opportunities that women were able to try out in the workforce, Pierson argues that the changes that occurred in the workforce during the Second World War did not contribute to women's liberation. Pierson's first argument against the new roles that women performed supporting liberation involves the way that women were treated during the war. The NSS recruitment drives only began in 1942. This shows that the government was only using women as a reserve labour pool and had no interest in assisting progress for women in the workforce through the wartime emergency. Pierson argues that this meant that all the progress that women were able to make during the war was based in necessity, not in the concerns of women.[8] Advertising did not take into account the needs or desires of women either. Patriotism and duty were stressed and women's work in the factories was deemed a necessary sacrifice for the war. A woman's obligation to work in the time of emergency was strongly emphasized in the advertising over a woman's right to work.[9] However, women had other reasons for working during the war and economic necessity was the primary motivator according to Pierson.[10] The Canadian government was only concerned with women working to support the war effort, not with women's rights or the promotion of women's liberation.

The main argument that Pierson poses regarding women in the workforce is that it could not have supported or helped women's liberation due to a lack of continuity of government policy and its effect on the number of women who were able to continue working in the post-war. During the war, the Canadian government amended the tax laws so that workingwomen could keep their dependant status and still contribute a higher income to the household. This made it easier and more desirable to the family to have married women join the workforce since it would allow the family a sizable tax break. In addition, the government opened childcare facilities in the major industrial centres of Ontario and Quebec that allowed women with children better access to the workforce and encouraged more workers to join the workforce. At the war's end, both of these concessions towards women were cancelled. Pierson argues that this evidence shows that women's labour and concerns were "no longer of national importance" in the post-war years and that government policies lacked any continuity that could have helped women to remain in the workforce.[11]

National Labour statistics support Pierson's assertion. In 1939, women made up twenty-four per cent of the workforce in Canada. By 1944, with the help of the new government initiatives, women reached their peak of workforce participation during the war at thirty-three per cent of the Canadian workforce. That number continually declined until it hit its bottom at twenty-three per cent in 1954. Canadian women would not reach the 1944 high again until 1966.[12] It is Pierson's assertion that the cancellations of the wartime tax incentives and childcare facilities made it difficult for women to continue in the workforce and that once cancelled, the government was actually creating a disincentive for women to continue working.[13]

The evidence that Pierson provides is difficult to challenge because the Canadian government did cancel the incentives it had given women to encourage them to join the workforce. Notwithstanding, Pierson has only proven that there was a lack of continuity regarding women in the workforce at the national level and in government policies. There are several other aspects of women's employment in the Second World War that do support the argument that the experiences of women during the war were liberating for women and did contain elements of continuity.

Sherna Berger Gluck argued in *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*, that women who worked in manufacturing were able to obtain higher wages than were available to them in traditional female employment, even though they were still lower than the wages of men. She also demonstrates that women were able to keep some of the manufacturing jobs that they had during the war. This meant that women had some access to higher paying jobs during the war and some, even if limited, access to these jobs in the post-war years.[14] This argument indicates continuity of manufacturing jobs into the post-war, however, this book does not provide many concrete examples through statistical evidence or other evidence as to how many women were able to stay in manufacturing. Gluck's book is a collection of personal accounts from women war workers in America. One of the themes that the women express throughout the book is that they gained a tremendous amount of self-confidence through their war work. Gluck acknowledges this as a major factor in the personal development of women and a change in the way women saw themselves that was carried into the post-war.[15]

Doris Weatherford in *American Women and World War II*, argues that women actually changed the workplace for the better through their contributions to industry in

America. Employers realized that women had different expectations of the workplace and started to respond to women's needs in order to make them feel more comfortable at work and to encourage them to stay at the company. Improvements were made to shower facilities, there was a decrease in harsh industrial discipline and counsellors were hired to deal with worker concerns rather than foremen. Employers installed public address systems to be able to announce messages to their employees and to play music or the radio for the workers while they worked. Companies also began to focus on improving camaraderie among the workers to help the women socially. Company clubs, sports teams and newsletters became commonplace and were encouraged.[16] All of these improvements affected men and women in the workplace and continued into the post-war years.

Weatherford also argues that there was an expansion of the definition of what was considered women's work at the end of the Second World War. Although the concept of women's work and men's work had not been shed, women's work had expanded to include the professions of bank tellers and bookkeepers as well as several other jobs. It was the movement of women into these positions that created the pink-collar label of the new jobs.[17] Since these jobs had become women's work, there is some evidence that women had taken a step forward in developing equality with men in the workforce.

In the summer of 1940, France fell to the Nazis. Britain and its Commonwealth, with Canada as the major partner stood alone against Hitler. It was shortly after the fall of France that Canada began to consider creating women's divisions for the three wings of the armed forces. In early 1941, the Army and Air Force approved plans for women's divisions in their respective services and the Navy followed in 1942. Throughout 1941,

the Army began training female officers and setting up its Training Centres and bases to train female soldiers. The first Training Centre for regular troops was opened in the summer of 1942 and the second Training Centre opened in October of the same year. The initial classes of soldiers were small; the base at Knollwood Park in Kitchener graduated 70 women from its first class. Calls for 12,000 more CWACs were made late in 1942, and recruitment campaigns increased at this time in all three women's services. By early 1943, the Training Centre at Kitchener was taking in classes of 400-450 women to try to keep up with the military's needs. By 1945, with victory in sight, it was announced that the women's divisions of the Canadian Armed Forces would be disbanded at the war's end. Throughout the end of 1945 into early 1946, all of the female soldiers, airwomen and sailors were discharged.

Ruth Pierson's work limits its military discussion to the army. She argues that women's participation in the army in World War II also did nothing to advance women's liberation. As was the case with women in the workforce, Pierson argues that women were only allowed into the army due to the necessity of the war, not because of any consideration of the needs or desires of women to join the military. Life in the army was not equal for men and women. Women were only considered for non-combatant roles and were not allowed to be part of the fighting force. Pierson does not feel that this demonstrated a desire to create equality in the military since everyone did not have access to every position. In addition, women were trained in roles that were traditionally female roles in the workplace such as clerical work, cooks, waitresses and store women. Very few trades welcomed female soldiers in the army. Pierson points out that one half of the women serving in the army were non-tradeswomen and held employment such as

laundresses, batwomen, canteen helpers and waitresses. Furthermore, seventy per cent of the women who were employed in a trade were cooks and clerks. This demonstrated that the army was unwilling to provide women equal access to its non-combatant roles.[18]

Barbara Winters argues that Pierson's focus on the CWACS is limiting and is an incomplete assessment of the experience of servicewomen in the Second World War.[19] In order to demonstrate her assertion Winters focuses on the differences between army and navy service during the war. Unlike female officers in the army, female navy officers were given the King's commission and were entitled to all marks of respect that are afforded their rank from the members of all three services whether male or female.[20] The officers' authority extended over everyone she was responsible for male or female. The navy allowed women to take up any non-combatant trade with the exception of those that were performed on the boats since women could not serve in combatant roles. Winters states that navy women were "trained, employed and promoted in the same fashion, that is, according to skill, not gender."[21] The differences between these two services demonstrate why the two authors have differing opinions about the liberation of women that resulted from military service.

Weatherford adds to the debate through her idea that although women were mainly restricted to what is deemed traditionally women's work there was a new bent to the work that made it different from the traditional jobs. The setting of the military created a unique working atmosphere that allowed the work to become new and interesting. The procedures, protocol and way in which the work was to be performed was different from anything the women could have experienced in civilian society.[22] In addition, women who served overseas faced dangers from bombs and the danger of

crossing the U-boat infested waters of the Atlantic. Some of the women overseas were even employed in positions, such as mail delivery, that brought them into visual contact with the front lines.[23]

Pierson argues that women were not accepted in the military and that a whispering campaign against the female soldiers was prevalent in Canadian society. Concerns about femininity produced the whispering campaign. Citizens expressed concerns that a woman lost her appeal to men by joining the army or that women were only allowed to be in the army to keep the men happy. To combat these images that were often said straight to the servicewomen's faces, the Canadian government launched an advertising campaign that pictured glamorous female soldiers in sharply fitted uniforms. They even made the CWAC uniform have special features and be individually fitted to look attractive on the soldiers. Pierson argues that the ads were depicting traditional women and that there was too much concern over femininity and a woman's ability to remain "womanly."[24] Pierson expressed the same concerns over advertising for products such as soap and ads for female war workers.

In response to Pierson's arguments, concerning advertising Keshen makes a simple yet valid point:

> "Despite the persistence of stereotypes that trivialized or objectified women, such evidence might also lead one to propose that firms were moving with the times to serve, and perhaps inherently encourage, the modern working woman [or military woman] by suggesting that she could balance traditional concerns such as appearance with the new demands of the war economy [and military service].[25]

It is not certain what the advertisements were meant to portray, however, the pictures and words show and indicate that women can in fact, do it all and remain womanly.

Pierson provides a discussion of army pay rates to provide more evidence to support her argument. Initially, female soldiers were paid two thirds of the pay that male soldiers received and female soldiers could not claim dependants' allowances. In 1942, the army raised its pay rate to eighty per cent of what male soldiers made and equal pay for soldiers who performed a trade. They also added a dependants allowance for the families of female soldiers that was equivalent to that given to the dependants of male soldiers. Pierson shows that the military was unwilling to promote equality between the sexes through its pay rates.

Nevertheless, Keshen in his article and Susan Hartmann in *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* argue that there were several other benefits that the army equally provided soldiers that opened up new opportunities for women. Hartmann indicates that American soldiers were entitled to re-employment in their former jobs and to education benefits upon discharge; this is also true of the men and women in the Canadian Armed Forces.[26] Even though many women had lower paying traditional jobs to return to, the military did promote equality of soldiers through this promise. Regarding education, Keshen suggests that the education benefit helped women to obtain new experiences in the post-war and to raise the status of women. Fifty thousand women joined the armed forces of Canada during the Second World War. Of these soldiers, two thousand enrolled in university programs and eight thousand enrolled in vocational training. That means that twenty per cent of female soldiers chose to use their education benefits. Although most of the soldiers entered education programs that were traditionally female, exceptions were increasing and women were beginning to study in fields like the sciences and other traditionally male dominated fields of study.[27]

Through education benefits, women had the opportunity to better themselves and raise their position in society. An outstanding example of a Canadian Soldier that did just that is Judy LaMarsh. LaMarsh used her education benefits to become a lawyer and eventually went on to become a Canadian Member of Parliament. This evidence suggests that although in increments, women were making progress towards equality and liberation through their wartime experiences.

Pierson's ultimate argument demonstrating that women's military experience in the Second World War was not liberating is that the services were disbanded at the war's end. This demonstrated that women had not accomplished any form of liberation or a place in the military services. However, Weatherford offers intangible advancements to suggest that women did achieve some steps towards liberation through their experiences in the military. Wearing a uniform for one's country in a time of emergency created feelings of pride in the soldiers- male or female. Enlisting in the military offered the women a chance to be part of something larger than themselves and they took great pride in this.[28]

Pride and a desire to prove doubters wrong motivated these soldiers to work harder and push their limits to be the best soldiers possible. Soldiers would drill by flashlight and study by the red lights of the exit signs risking demerits for being out of bed after lights out.[29] In the end, this produced responsibility and independence in the women. The army taught them to be self-sufficient and responsible and that growth and development led to a new attitude about themselves that they carried into the post-war.[30]

Despite Pierson's arguments there appears to be enough evidence through Keshen's work and the international literature to suggest that women did make progress

towards liberation through their efforts in the Second World War. Although personal development is difficult to prove, the authors have given evidence of a new definition of women's work in the post-war, of access to rising wages in the post-war in industry and of new opportunities such as education benefits among others that also lasted into the post-war years. These arguments demonstrate new experiences and continuity in the experiences of women in the Second World War.

Chapter One:

Waterloo County's Women's Volunteer Groups and Domestic Soldiers

Report for Duty

Waterloo County was formed as five townships and two small villages in Ontario in 1853. By 1939, Waterloo County consisted of five townships, several small towns and three urban areas. Kitchener, Waterloo and Galt were the largest urban centres having populations of 35,657... 9,025, and 15,346 respectively at the time of the 1941census.[1] Small towns such as New Hamburg, Ayr, St. Jacobs and Elmira, as well as rural areas and farmland surrounded these cities. Waterloo County's two major ethnic backgrounds in 1941 were that of German at forty-eight per cent of the population and British at thirty-four percent of the population. Waterloo County is and was a distinctive area in Ontario due to its large Mennonite community, many of whom practice an orthodox lifestyle to this day. In addition to the rich farmlands surrounding the urban areas of Waterloo County, there was also a large amount of industry and manufacturing in the area. In Waterloo County's various companies and factories the area produced rubber products, foodstuffs, clothing, furniture, metal products and electronics.

Women across Canada volunteered their time to provide essential services to help the war effort. Women's organizations raised money for supplies, knitted sweaters and caps for soldiers and for refugees, coordinated blood donations and headed drives for the purchase of War Bonds and War Stamps, among many other duties. Efforts in the home to follow rationing restrictions through innovative recipes, growing victory gardens, minimizing waste and recycling valuable war commodities helped to control inflation and

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[1] English, John and Kenneth McLaughlin. *Kitchener: An Illustrated History.* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1996) 231.

ensure the military forces would be properly supplied. The women of Waterloo County were no exception. Showing a great deal of initiative women's groups in the area began organizing themselves before Canada had actually declared war.

Britain and France declared war against the Nazis on 3 September 1939, Canada's declaration followed 7 days later on 10 September 1939. By September 5, the women of Waterloo County, through the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Red Cross Society, were already coordinating themselves to do their part for the war effort. Immediately after Britain's declaration the Red Cross Society began to receive phone calls from dozens of Kitchener women "offering their services to work for the society in whatever capacity is advised."[1] Although the Red Cross was waiting for instructions from the provincial organization as to how Kitchener could help, they were willing to take down the information of would be volunteers and advise them of the first local meeting to be held the following week.

There were three chapters of the IODE in Waterloo County at the beginning of the war; there would be a 4th added by the war's end. The IODE began to organize their chapters by distributing registration cards among members and recruiting other willing volunteers to register as well. The IODE chapters announced meetings to be held the following week to collect the registration cards and inform the members of the type of activities that they would perform to assist the war effort. By the following week, both the Red Cross and IODE assumed that the government would provide advice and leadership to assist the chapters in deciding what kind of war services they could provide to prevent duplication throughout the province, which it did within the month.[2]

By 14 September 1939, just four days after Canada's declaration of war, the Red Cross moved into a position to spearhead the efforts of the women's organizations of Waterloo County. In an announcement in the local newspaper they called for "all individuals, and all women's auxiliaries, lodges, clubs, factory groups or other women's organizations, who wish to do their bit for the Red Cross" to get in touch with the local Chairman.[3] The same article announced a drive for women to volunteer to knit sleeveless sweaters for the army and that wool for the sweaters and instructions were being distributed at the Society. The Red Cross would continue to be the distribution centre for wool and other knitting supplies for women's groups as well as creating fund raising campaigns and performing many duties, along with the other women's groups through to the war's end.

In Waterloo County, as across Canada, different groups performed different tasks and maintained a degree of autonomy by deciding which charities and organizations that money and clothing would be donated to. For example, the Women's Institute of Ayr met on September 15, 1939 to discuss the formation of a society to tend to the needs of the war. The decision was made that a specific organization within the existing institute would be created in order to allow the women of Ayr a way to support the war effort. After much discussion the organization was named the "Women's Institute Patriotic Service of Ayr and District (WIPSAD). At first the committee decided to donate all of the money raised and clothing made to the Red Cross in Toronto. However, after some thought it was decided that instead of donating everything to the Red Cross that some articles would go to the Salvation Army and to the Navy League as well as to all the enlisted Ayr soldiers. WIPSAD was able to raise $15,397 between 1939 and 1946. By

the end of the war the organization had decided to donate the majority of the money they raised to the Red Cross and Salvation Army. They also chose to donate money to the Russian, Greek and British War Relief Funds. What was left over was spent on hospital supplies, gifts for soldiers, and the operating costs of the organization for postage and stationary.[4]

The Princess of Wales chapter of the local IODE assisted the war effort in other ways. They provided hospitality to local soldiers, both male and female, through assisting the YWCA in catering sandwich luncheons as mixers for the soldiers. They also made "ditty bags" to provide field comforts such as sleeveless sweaters, woollen caps and other supplies to the men overseas and sent used clothing bundles to Britain to help those who lost their homes and possessions during the Nazi bombing campaigns. In the community, the IODE collected magazines and books to give to the libraries of the local military training camps and assisted in poppy sales for veteran organizations on poppy day.[5] There were many other organizations in the area that performed countless tasks for the war effort.

Some women's organizations even volunteered to help equip ships for the navy. Waterloo County had three Royal Canadian Navy Corvette Class ships named for *Galt* (Active duty from 1941-1945), *Kitchener* (Active Duty from 1942-1945), and *Hespeler* (Active Duty from 1944-1945) commissioned during the war. H.M.C.S. *Galt* and *Kitchener* were Flower Class Corvettes that carried a crew of seventy-nine with six officers and H.M.C.S. *Hespeler* was the slightly larger Castle Class Corvette that carried an additional twenty-six men. Corvettes were the primary fighting component of the navy, being used to protect the supply and troop ships in the convoys across the Atlantic.

The 282 men that served on these ships relied on Waterloo County's women to supply them with sweaters, caps, mittens, seaman's boot stockings and socks. The Sister Susie Club of Galt sponsored H.M.C.S. *Galt*. These women "knitted and raffled quilts and afghans to meet the crew's requests."[6] Waterloo County's Local Council of Women took up the sponsorship of H.M.C.S. *Kitchener* at the request of the mayor of Kitchener. In addition to knitting clothing for the crew and fundraising for other needs, the Local Council of Women wrote letters to the crew, one in 1943 was sent to congratulate the crew for being the first Canadian crew to "oversubscribe its Victory Bond allocation." Beyond clothing, the crew of *Kitchener* required an electric washing machine, two electric irons, toilet articles and luxuries such as magazines, chocolate bars, playing cards, and cigarettes to be supplied by the women.[7]

The various efforts of women's organizations were reported in the local newspapers in a positive and upbeat way throughout the entire war. Everything from the results of the organizations elections for chairwomen and directors, to their activities were reported in detail in the women's section of the Kitchener Daily Record. The efforts were praised as they were essential to the war effort and individual women who accomplished great feats in fund raising or other activities were given the spotlight in the papers. This brought the activities of women volunteers into the public sphere of society and in the post- war, they continued to make headlines in the women's section of the paper for their efforts in the community.[8] The success of the women's institutes encouraged new women's groups such as the British War Brides to form in the area in the post war. Other groups, such as WIPSAD, remained part of the women's organizations that created them in order to help in the post-war with community building initiatives and

to help with refugee relief. Some of the other organizations that were formed for the purpose of the war remained part of the community as women decided to maintain links to the public sphere despite the return of many women to the home to get married and raise families.

In one case, the community appealed to an organization to continue its services in the post war. The Women's Voluntary Service (WVS) was created by the federal government to coordinate the efforts of various communities across Canada and keep track of the whereabouts of local soldiers in each district. With the end of the war, the government withdrew funding for the buildings that housed this organization anticipating that the group would be disbanded. However, at a meeting of the K-W Citizen's Auxiliary committee in 1945, a recommendation was made that the local WVS continue its work so that the community would have better access to mailing lists of veterans and be able to hold a welcome home banquet on their behalf, and keep veterans in contact. In addition, the committee decided, in a unanimous vote, that it would take on the role of funding the organization and finding it suitable office space.[9] The example of the WVS demonstrates that some women's organizations had proven that their contributions were valuable services for the community and that community members recognized their value. In this case, the WVS retained a degree of responsibility over the hospitality for the homecoming of Waterloo County's veterans as well as their other services into the post-war years.

Another example of ways in which women's organizations maintained some authority and a voice within their communities in the post-war was found in the creation of a local recreation committee by the Local Council of Women. The National Council

of Women was created in the 1890s to try to advance the cause of women. Provincial and local councils were created to provide a grassroots effort and affect women's lives at a local as well as national level. Waterloo County's Local Council of Women was formed in 1921, then disbanded for four years in 1927 and reformed in 1932. During the war, the Local Council of Women decided to call a meeting to organize the men's and women's groups to form a local recreation committee. The committee members represented several different men's and women's organizations such as the YWCA, YMCA, the Victorian Order of Nurses, some of the local churches and many other groups. The Recreation Committee decided to create five departments within the organization in the areas of arts and crafts, citizenship and education, health and physical fitness, music and drama as well as sports. The Recreation Committee's work was recognized by the Kitchener City Council when the committee was given the title of Recreation Council of the City of Kitchener and awarded the responsibility of managing all of the federal and provincial grants designated for recreation.[10]

The Recreation Council was created through the wartime work of a women's organization in its efforts to aid its community. The members elected to the committee were male and female volunteers. This initiative led to the absorption of the recreation committee into the local government where the male and female volunteers were given authority within the community and a great deal of responsibility for decision-making regarding local recreation. Through the recreation committee, women had achieved a voice in local affairs and could ensure that women's recreation needs would be part of the agenda of the community.

Participating in Women's Volunteer Groups was only one of the ways in which women's unpaid labour contributed to the war effort. Traditional roles inside the home changed homemakers, who performed routine housework and took care of their families, into domestic soldiers. Government intervention into the household economy became necessary to the war effort in order to keep down inflation and to help gather war supplies through recycling various products. For example, stockings made of nylon could be recycled into gunpowder bags and the fats that women collected could be used in the manufacturing of explosives. Advertising changed an ordinary housewife into an important public figure who recycled fats, adhered to rationing, brought in any extra metal products from their homes and invented recipes to stretch the rations and to keep family members happy.

Recipes were printed in the women's section of the local newspapers and posted at local women's volunteer organizations to try to help make the rations more bearable. Ways to double the butter rations with milk and gelatine, stretch the meat rations through making stews chocked full of vegetables with meat flavour, and make sweets without sugar were found in the newspapers throughout the war. The Kitchener Daily Record printed this recipe to double a pound of butter:

> Allow one pound of butter to warm very slightly and mix with a spoon until a creamy state has been created. Then warm a pint of milk to blood heat. Add milk to the butter, gradually stirring the creamy constituency together. Pack the substance in bowls and store in a cool place.[11]

In addition to government requests and recipes, the difficulties of housework received many reports through advertising and articles.

The time-consuming nature of housework and the woman's role at home was noticed and reported on throughout the war in relation to working women. As a crisis over manpower in war industry became larger by 1942, the government had to turn to married and older women with home responsibilities to help in the work force. Before the war there was little advertising devoted to household needs beyond foodstuffs and necessities such as soap. This was most likely due to the financial hardships caused by the depression and the inability of many families to purchase appliances. As the war drew to a close in 1945, the Daily Record reported a new concern in the post-war- Canadian women lacked appliances. The article informs the reader that there was a shortage of "laundry tubs, proper drying facilities, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and carpet sweepers," also many women did not have ironing boards.[12] Manufacturers and advertisers had noticed women's concerns over hygienic living and the time consuming nature of housework. In a scan of advertising in the Kitchener Daily Record from 1945 to 1947, there appeared a much larger number of advertisements for household appliances then there were during or before the war. Stressed was not only that the new appliances cleaned more thoroughly, but also that they were easier to use and saved time. Saving time for the homemaker to enjoy other pursuits was a new feature of advertising in the post-war. It implies that society was responding to the new images of women and roles that women desired to maintain at the war's end.

Homemakers and women volunteers increasingly saw themselves as vital and important members of the community as the war went on and they found themselves being praised in the daily papers for their efforts. The needs and desires of women were

changing and whether through work or voluntary actions women now demanded a larger place in the public sphere of the community.

Kitchener's YWCA assisted the war effort in many ways, such as providing services to the local CWACs, finding housing for newcomers such as young women workers and soldiers' wives and providing many activities in the community for recreation. They also held Annual meetings to discuss what the YWCA could do for its community and how to help women in need. The first wartime meeting took place in 1940. At the beginning of 1940, there was little concern over manpower in the factories or in the armed forces in regards to women being needed to fill men's roles. France would not fall to the Nazis until that summer and volunteers continued to join the forces at a steady rate in Canada. Although many women were already working in Waterloo County, volunteerism was the main contribution of women at this time. The lack of leading roles for women in this climate is reflected in a speech given by Mrs. Louise Gates, the National General Secretary of the YWCA, who was the speaker at the first wartime general meeting of the Kitchener YWCA on January 30, 1940. In the lecture entitled "Meeting Normal Needs in Times of Emergency", Mrs. Gates spoke about how the YWCA could help the "burdened girls" adjust to the war. She stressed such ideas as teaching girls that they are not rich in the things they possess, but in "the things they enjoy" and that, girls had to learn to recognize the value of things that do not cost money. The language and tone used in the lecture speaks down to girls and women. Phrases such as "if cataclysmic changes, such as those introduced by war, are to be met without disaster girls had to learn to develop inner security and inner poise," suggest that girls are weak and unable to face the stresses of difficult times without men.[13]

By early 1942, there had been discussion and approval of creating women's auxiliary services in the armed forces and recruitment of women for labour had begun. Volunteerism continued to be the main contribution of women to the war effort and it was gaining in importance and receiving acclaim. This is strangely not reflected at the February 5, 1942 general meeting in Kitchener, where Mrs Harold Clarke, Chairman of the Personnel Committee of the National YWCA Board spoke about "The Task Ahead." Here the speaker posed the thought that "we must not only fight a defensive war against the Nazis on the battlefields, but at the same time a second war in our own hearts for the enthronement there and in the world of truth and love." Clarke's fear was that city life demoralized the individual since cities lacked "the community spirit which gave each man a sense of his importance." The growing importance of women was not part of this speech; in fact women were not the topic of the speech at all, with the exception of how they can help their man to find his importance through God and love. In other words, women were still seen as primarily catering to the needs of men in traditional roles, even within a women's organization.[14]

By late 1942, the Canadian Armed Forces had trained many women for the women's auxiliary groups and the National Selective Service had begun a heavy advertising campaign aimed at getting more women to join the forces and take on war work. This was reflected in a February 4, 1943 lecture at the Kitchener YWCA that included three speakers on various topics that were of new interest to women.

The first speaker, Mrs. Olivia Schmuck, spoke about the contribution women could make by joining the work force in war industry. Her message was that women who chose to work in war industry were "serving Canada as truly as the men who enlist in the

active services." The next speaker, Lieut. Simpson (referred to as Lieut. Mrs. Simpson in the YWCA archives to show she was a woman) of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWACs) "outlined the type of training which is given the girls who enter the Canadian Women's Army Corps...and the kind of service required of the recruits and the benefits of accruing to the country and to the girls themselves from their army training." The final speaker Miss Edith Horton from the Victorian Order of Nurses, spoke about health issues. She told the girls present that it would be their responsibility to build peace for the world throughout their adult lives and that in order to accomplish such a task they would need to do their best to maintain their health. Through the YWCA and other agencies, the girls could gain information on nutrition and developing healthy lifestyles. Miss Horton then offered some information on foods that women would have to incorporate into their diets since physical labour used more of the body's vitamins and minerals.[15] What is interesting about this lecture is the distinct departure from the previous lectures that the YWCA held. This lecture focused on opportunities for women and actively encouraged young women to try them. In addition, the focus of the lecture was not strictly on the need for women to help during the war, but on future roles they would play to bring about peace, be educated citizens to help the development of their country and of the mental satisfaction that these new roles would bring them. The YWCA presented a variety of lectures that concerned many women and the opportunities that they could look to such as education to improve themselves as well as religious lectures and post-war pride lectures about a valiant Canada.[16] The changes in the lectures at the general meetings demonstrate the changing ways that women saw themselves and the expectations that women held. From being a traditional housewife who was

patronized by a female speaker to a world of possibilities and a chance to prove themselves in the men's world is a radical change in philosophy.

The Kitchener YWCA was able to combine the changing values and roles of women with the traditional religious teachings of the YWCA in lectures of the post-war and did not revert to a patronizing tone towards women, suggesting a change in attitude about women within womanhood. The first post-war lecture, on February 12, 1946, featured Mrs. Walter Rean the president of the National Council of the YWCA focused on "The Task Ahead." Mrs. Rean believed that the YWCA was in a position to play an important part in the rebuilding of the world through its membership in fifty countries. The YWCA had begun to hear from "long-silent" YWCA organizations in Germany, Japan, Italy and Czechoslovakia and had discovered that Estonia and Latvia were the only countries in which the YWCA had been completely wiped out by the war. Through these connections, Mrs. Rean told the audience, the YWCA could promote unity throughout the world. The YWCA could contribute to world peace by offering programs that stressed the importance of the study of public affairs. Through these studies, young women would learn about other nations and peoples as well as the way that various countries govern their people. This would be able to combat prejudice, discrimination, the ability to believe unreasonable things and prevent an excessive fear of others through providing members with information about other communities.[17]

The following year Miss Lillian Thomson, general secretary of the National YWCA council, gave a similar address to the Kitchener YWCA in which she discussed the need for people of privileged nations, such as Canada, to help the needy in other nations that struggle with poverty. In addition to helping the needy, Miss Thomson also

stressed the unity that the YWCA can provide by discussing the things in which all women throughout the world's YWCAs have in common such as Christianity and citizenship. She closed by stating that the lessons of the war taught the YWCA that it must give its "pledge to the world that we in our association will never exclude any of God's children."[18]

These two examples of post-war lectures given at the Kitchener YWCA show that the speakers had a broad vision for the YWCA that included lofty goals for its female membership. Through suggesting that women could assist the YWCA in achieving peace and unity throughout the world, the speakers are empowering women and challenging them to continue to support the YWCA in its endeavours. In addition, strong suggestions were made to women to gain more education and become well informed about their world and its communities in order to be a force of change within it. Throughout the war, the change in speeches showed a changing image of women from performing one's duty as a housewife, to personal development and growth, to helping the global community. The perceived roles of women and what they could accomplish presented in the YWCA annual lectures, grew with each passing year and continued into the post-war.

The women of Waterloo County showed great initiative in organizing and preparing to play a role in the war before Canada had even declared its intentions. After much media hype about the essential services that the many women's groups and their volunteers provided in Waterloo County, women claimed a degree of authority in the community and moved volunteerism into the public sphere. Volunteering to help the war effort continued well into the post-war, even though organizations such as the Women's Voluntary Services were only created to help the war effort. Women refused to

relinquish a hold on the public sphere and continued to help to build and shape their communities suggesting a new attitude about women and giving them a share of the power, even if it was small.

The housewife too became a focus as the media highlighted the drudgery and difficulty of her task. This was not forgotten in the post-war by the manufacturing industry who attempted to produce and invent new appliances and products that would ease the burden of house work to free a woman's time to possibly explore other interests or take a part time job, volunteer more often or whatever she wanted to do. This evidence suggests that women's time was now treated like a commodity, just like a man's.

Ruth Pierson focuses on the national level in her study and is correct in finding that women were not permitted to participate in post-war reconstruction committees other than the committee discussing women in the post-war.[19] Notwithstanding, Pierson's argument does not show that no progress was made in the power relationships and importance of women in their communities. The case of Waterloo County illustrates that women were able to build a stronger voice in the decision-making surrounding recreation in the community through their volunteer efforts and that they were able to maintain continuity for that voice into the post-war years. This demonstrates that Waterloo County's experience supports Jeff Keshen's suggestion that progress was made for women volunteers across Canada by gaining participation in local decision-making.[20] However, the changes are too minor to suggest a great change in the status of women through their volunteer efforts. The evidence does suggest a change in the ways in which women perceived themselves, but ultimately the only conclusion that can be drawn from

the experiences of Waterloo County's female volunteers is that the war revitalized the Women's institutes and volunteer organizations. More immediately important than roles and equality, these women accomplished what they set out to do- aid their country in a time of crisis and the reward was victory.

Chapter Two:

Waterloo County's Female Workforce Sign's Up to Support the War

Waterloo County is an industry-rich area. Although the depression effected Waterloo County's production and employment situation before the war, manufacturers produced chemicals, clothing, rubber products, electronics and foodstuffs throughout the area. The value of these resources for the war effort made the manufacturing companies throughout Waterloo County prosper throughout the war as they were awarded many substantial war contracts. By 1939, the City of Kitchener alone had the fifth largest manufacturing output in Ontario and the economy grew rapidly when war production began. At first, they were smaller contracts such as one valued at $17,920 that was awarded to the Kaufman Rubber Company, however a few months later B.F. Goodrich and Dominion Electrohome were awarded contracts worth $90,000 each.[1]

The war contracts brought an influx of money to the area that effected the employment and financial situation of many in the area in substantial ways. The first major change was the availability of employment. The labour force in Waterloo County expanded by sixty per cent during the period of 1941-1943. During the same period, salaries increased by almost fifty percent in all occupations and sixty per cent in the manufacturing sector. In 1939, women already made up a significant portion of Waterloo County's workforce at thirty-one per cent, by 1943 the number of women working in the area would grow to thirty-seven per cent.[2] That number would peak at thirty-eight per cent of the workforce in 1944.

New opportunities for women in semi-professional and skilled work began to open up across Canada as the war continued. An example of one such job is that of map

plotting: in April of 1942, the Kitchener Daily Record printed an article discussing the movement of women into meteorology. Before the war, female applicants ran into prejudice against them joining the field since they would have to climb towers, and work through the night at the airports, which was not considered appropriate for a woman to do. However, due to the emergency of the war women were now being considered to work as map plotters at the Weather Bureau, stationed at various airports. The duties included learning the technicalities of map plotting, climbing anemometer towers, receiving and decoding reports of weather conditions from 350-400 international sources on teletypes, and entering them on a weather map. The opening up of this position to women demonstrated a growing belief that women were intelligent and able to perform new and different employment tasks than those that have been traditionally open to them.[3]

Waterloo County looked to its women to enter non-traditional fields of employment to help the war effort before the National Selective Service was created and the major national advertising campaigns began. The Dominion-Provincial War Emergency Training Program was created in 1940 and set up in industrial centres to train men and women to perform various manufacturing jobs that would contribute to the war effort. T.H. Scott was the local employment superintendent who ran the training program in Waterloo County. Classes in areas such as inspections and machine shop practice were offered at the Kitchener-Waterloo Collegiate in the evening so that men and women would be able to hold down work and upgrade their skills to fill important roles and increase their earning potential. The first female graduates of the program, one hundred in total, were quickly placed in the areas war plants as machinists in 1941 and

another hundred women had begun their studies in the next program to help fill the numerous requests for trained workers that plants from as far away as Sarnia were sending.[4] By February of 1942, Waterloo County had graduated and employed in its industries another fifty women who had trained as inspectors and had recently graduated another twenty-eight female inspectors.[5] As excited as Mr. Scott was about the program and its graduates, Waterloo County would soon realize that it was not easy to keep up enthusiasm for the program or to convince women to try out new careers.

In February 1942, the same paper that reported the graduation of the inspectors also ran an article about the need for more women to sign up for vocational training. The number of women signing up for the program was dropping to the point where they could not fill the classes despite an order for twenty more women to take war industry positions in a neighbouring city. Mr. Scott could not explain the drop in enrolment. [6] By August of 1942, the demand for trained women war workers was high and still the vocational training programs could not be filled. The classes for machine shop practice and inspectors each sat thirty students, but by the start date in August there were only nineteen women total registered to attend the courses. Despite appeals from Mr. Scott for women to come forward, there had been no response. Mr. Pugh, the headmaster at the collegiate, stated, "It seems very difficult to interest women in the type of work we are doing here." He went on to stress that they accept women up to forty years of age in the classes in hopes of encouraging more women to apply. Without the women, industry would be slowed and unable to do its full part for the war effort.[7]

One of the reasons that it could have been difficult to fill the vocational training programs was that the federal government and NSS would not begin its heavy advertising

campaigns to encourage women to support the war effort through war work until late 1942. The last news accounts that asked women to sign up for such programs appeared in early 1943. This suggests that the national level advertising may have encouraged women to sign up for vocational training.

The community demonstrated its support of women taking on new roles in the workplace by working with industry and the government to provide training and facilities for the women to learn how to perform in the new work and be immediately placed in a job, however it was still the responsibility of the women to use the service. The inability to fill the inspector and machine shop courses with women suggests that women were not necessarily interested in training programs when there were large numbers of jobs already available.

As a result of the inability to fill the training courses and thus war jobs with Waterloo County's women, the area had to bring in more workers. Throughout the war, many women from rural areas or the east coast came to live and work in Waterloo County to help with the war effort and to increase their earning potential. This created new problems for the county in the form of a housing shortage. The task of finding lodging for the women was given to the Kitchener YWCA. By August of 1942, the YWCA had found rooms for 252 women and the number would continue to climb throughout the war. "Of these 22 were girls of the Canadian Women's Army Corps; 137 were girls coming into Kitchener to work in industries and offices; 52 were soldiers' wives, many of them with young children and 41 were older women, who also came to take jobs here."[8] The YWCA was filled to capacity and had to use clubrooms to house transients. To solve the housing problems the YWCA turned to members of the

community to take the women into their own homes and found many families willing to offer a spare room. The only difficulties that the YWCA experienced were in placing women with small children in local homes.[9]

Finding lodgings for the women was not enough for the YWCA. The YWCA recognized that these women had "no roots in this community—no friends here. They need an opportunity for social contacts, recreation, opportunities to make friends" in order to feel at home in the community.[10] For this reason the YWCA was asking for more volunteers to come forward to help plan and create events for the women that would include community members to help the newcomers settle in and keep up their moral.

Nutrition became an important concern throughout Waterloo County as the war progressed and rationing became tighter. Sick workers were less productive and children needed nutritious foods to help them grow properly. With more women in the work force time to fix nutritious meals became a concern and the types of foods they required were also new as the physical labour that they were now performing used many more calories, vitamins and minerals than traditional jobs. To address the problem the City of Kitchener decided to open a new nutrition service in the area. Public speeches addressing nutrition concerns were being given by trained dieticians in the workplace and through accompanying nurses on their visits to households.[11] Articles also appeared in the papers recounting the advice given at the various lectures and providing recipes that were not only designed to stretch rations and make them more bearable, but also to provide proper nutrition.

An example of one such article appeared in the Kitchener Daily Record in February of 1941. Mrs. Wesley, who spoke about the value of fruit, gave the speech as part of the work of the nutrition service. Mrs. Wesley began her talk by discussing the small sugar ration and ways to sweeten food with fruit. She recommended eating dried fruit as a snack and cooking with fruit to make lunch treats like Spiced Fruit Compete and dinners such as Fruit and Nut Scallop. This would provide the sweet flavour that people craved and provide them with energy from the natural sugars in much the same way that regular sugar did. In addition to being a sweetener, Mrs. Wesley reminded the listeners that fruit also contained necessary vitamins and minerals and acids that would encourage the appetite and help keep the body regular. This was mentioned in connection with labour and maintaining the health of the workers so that they could continue to support the war effort without sick days or being slowed due to illness.[12]

In addition to providing training and facilities, the actions of the YWCA and the creation of nutrition service for the county show that the community supported women in war industries. Through providing housing, recreation and social programs for the women, the YWCA welcomed newcomers to work in Waterloo County and tried to help them integrate into the community. Through opening their doors and taking the new women into their homes, the community welcomed and supported the women who came to the area to support the war with their labour. Concerns over proper nutrition and the new demands on women's bodies through physical labour prompted the community to create an education program to ensure proper nutrition that helped to maintain production and protect its citizens and newcomers from illness. All the evidence suggests that

Waterloo County's workingwomen were accepted and supported in their newfound endeavours.

Nearing the end of the war domestic concerns turned to post-war reconstruction. At the national level in Canada, there were some fears of an economic recession similar to that experienced at the end of World War I. However, Waterloo County did not share these fears and began to anticipate that the economic boom in the area created by wartime manufacturing would continue into the post-war years. A meeting held by the Local Counsel of Women on the post-war problems of women held an optimistic view not only for Waterloo County, but also for its women. [13] A report given to the Local Counsel of Women on the post-war employment situation for women also suggests that there would be an economic boom for men in the County and cites post-war spending as an explanation for the bountiful employment in the area. In a survey conducted by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Kitchener it was reported that "thirty-eight million dollars is the sum that this community expects to spend after the war." Eight million dollars was expected to be spent on building housing to accommodate those who had moved to the area during the war and the number of young couples that would be married and wish to purchase a home. The report estimated a need for an additional 1,820 homes to be built in the years immediately following the war. The rest of the money that would be spent would be on acquiring the luxury items that were unavailable during the war, such as nylon stockings, home appliances and automobiles.[14]

The information in the report presented to the Local Council of Women came from a survey conducted by the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce for the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. In addition to reporting that Waterloo County could

expect to maintain the economic upswing into the post-war due to consumer spending, the report also listed statistics for employment, by gender in Kitchener-Waterloo during the war, until 1943 when the survey was conducted, and through estimating numbers into the post-war. The survey reports that women gained the largest increase in employment in manufacturing. By 1943, there were forty percent more jobs for women in the manufacturing sector of Kitchener-Waterloo. The post-war estimate for manufacturing jobs expected only a three percent decline in the number of positions that women held. The majority of the manufacturing jobs that women would lose in the post-war were expected to be in the electrical equipment field.[15]

Other fields of employment experienced growth throughout the war as well as manufacturing. The areas of finance, trade, services, as well as transportation and communication experienced a thirty-one percent increase in the number of female employees working in these industries by 1943. The post-war estimates expected a nine percent drop in the number of women employed in these areas. Overall, the survey anticipated that there would be a growth of thirty-two percent in female jobs in the area in the post-war. That is merely five percent lower than the 1943 number of women employed in the area.[16]

By 1943, Kitchener-Waterloo had experienced a growth of 4,708 jobs. In the post-war, the Chamber of Commerce reported that forty-three of those jobs would be lost permanently. Women were expected to lose 397 of the new jobs that they had gained during the war, while men would gain 354 more jobs on top of those already gained during the war. The report of the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce shows that the majority of women in Waterloo County could expect to remain employed at the wars

end in a variety of situations. Rather than sending the women home as the soldiers returned, Waterloo County needed its women to remain in the workforce. Although returning soldiers would be given their former jobs, as the government had promised on enlistment, there would be plenty of work for the woman whose job he had taken. Many would be transferred to another job in the same company.

More proof that an economic boom could be expected in the area came with the first cancellation of a war contract in Waterloo County. The B.F. Goodrich Rubber Company had the first major war contract pulled in August of 1945. Despite the loss of the contract the Daily Record reported that, "It will not disturb the manpower situation at the plant...Already short of manpower the cancellation of orders now clear the way for an immediate set-up of civilian tire production and this means the absorption of labour that would otherwise have been laid off." In fact, B.F. Goodrich was looking for an additional 100 female workers and 88 men when the victory over Japan was announced and that number was continuing to grow.[17]

B.F. Goodrich was not the only company that had not filled its available positions during the war. Many of the local factories were experiencing a shortage of employees throughout the war and would continue to feel a shortage into the post-war years. This was good news for those women who wished to remain employed at the wars end in the higher paying manufacturing jobs, even if they still made less then men they were able to make more money in manufacturing jobs than in traditional female work fields.

Proof of the employment shortage that Waterloo County experienced can be found through reading the classified section of the Daily Record in the years following the war. Throughout 1945, advertisements for women workers were equally as

prominent as those seeking male workers. The Kaufman Rubber Company was constantly looking for women to work as shoemakers, sewing machine operators, and trimmers. B.F. Goodrich was seeking women or girls for full-time work as shoemakers, fan belt wrappers and for general labour. Merchants Rubber Company was looking for women or girls to fill a variety of positions day or night, full or part-time. Traditional work for women was also being offered as advertisements for women waitresses, dishwashers, and housekeepers at the local hospital were found in the classified ads as well as similar jobs for other employers.[18] There was never a day in 1945 where an abundance of work was not being advertised in the papers.

The classified ads of the time demonstrate that women were able to choose the kind of work that they wished to pursue. Manufacturers, the hospital and restaurants had a variety of full and part-time employment available, meaning that women only had to leave behind the higher wages found in the manufacturing plants if they desired another job or to leave the workforce. In addition to the wealth of available work, the types of jobs that were being considered women's work appear to have expanded. In period of 1937-1938, there were no advertisements in the Daily Record for women to apply to work as shoemakers or fan belt wrappers. Manufacturing work that was advertised to women was primarily for sewing machine operators and general light labour. As seen in the advertising of 1945, women were now being specifically recruited for these positions. Although not the highest paying trades in the factories, these advertisements do suggest an expansion, even if small, of what was considered women's work in the post-war and thus, progress in increments towards equality with men.

The need for women workers in Waterloo County continued in 1946. Competition between employers increased to win the greater portion of available female workers and that is reflected in the Classified ads in the Daily Record that appeared throughout the year. No longer assuming that available work and higher earnings were enough to satisfy female workers the advertising turned to offering other benefits to entice women into the workforce. The Kaufman Rubber Company was now advertising good pay rates throughout their training period, a five-day week, and room and board at $6 a week to women who would come to work in its plant. B.F. Goodrich was also offering a five-day week and good pay rates during training, but was also advertising light work for older women to perform. General Springs Products Limited also offered the above incentives, but highlighted in addition, good working conditions and a Holiday Bonus Plan for women workers who joined its company. The largest number of incentives were being offered by the Sunshine-Waterloo Company who advertised a five-day work week, a free bus service, a private sports field, organized sports, insurance protection and benefits, a daily rest period and canteen services.[19]

The language and offerings of the industrial world were changing in Waterloo County in the post-war. Not only were women needed to remain in employment, but also many more were required to join or rejoin the work force. Attention to the desires of female employees was changing what was offered in employment packages as the need for female workers became great. Similar gestures were not being offered to men in advertisements run by the same companies when male workers were required. This elevates the status of women in the workplace through concessions to make employment more enjoyable for female workers to entice these valuable workers into the workforce.

It also demonstrates that choice was the main reason that women were not involved in the workforce or had left the workforce in the post-war in Waterloo County.

Employment statistics for Waterloo County, specifically Kitchener and Waterloo, confirm that there was in fact some continuity for women workers in Waterloo County and that personal choice was what kept women out of the workforce. The following numbers represent the percentage of the workforce made up by women in Waterloo County to show the growth and decline of women workers throughout the war.

December 1939	31%
December 1943	37%
April 1, 1944	36.1%
October 1, 1944	38.1%
April 1, 1945	36.9%
October 1, 1945	35.8%
April 1, 1946	31.9%
October 1, 1946	33.8%[20]

What is interesting about the statistics of Waterloo County is the drop in the percentage of the workforce that women make up between October of 1945 and April of 1946. The return to the pre-war average occurred at the same time that the newspaper was reporting that despite losing a major war contract B.F. Goodrich was still seeking employees including 100 women. At the same time, the classified advertisements for employment were looking for women to fill many positions in manufacturing at the hospital and in restaurants. If women were being laid off from manufacturing jobs as soldiers returned they could have transferred to other jobs within their factory or taken a lighter, more traditional job. By October of 1946, the percentage that women made up in the workforce was already beginning to climb. The newspapers were still advertising a

variety of employment positions for women, demonstrating that the work was always there. The women were choosing not to accept employment in Waterloo County.

Further reinforcing the issues of choice and demonstrating continuity was the number of vacancies for positions in Kitchener-Waterloo in 1946 and 1947. In November of 1946 there were 2,030 positions available total for both men and women. The employment office was unable to fill 1,094 of these positions.[21] Even though the percentage of women in the workforce increases in 1946, suggesting that more women were working, vacancies still existed and continued to grow in 1947. In August of 1947, there were 1,160 positions available in Kitchener-Waterloo. That number increased to 1,249 positions by October of the same year despite the employment office filling 403 positions between August and October.[22] That meant that the number of employment opportunities grew by 492 in two months. Although these positions were for both men and women, evidence in the classified section of the Daily Record shows that manufacturing companies were advertising for many female workers in a variety of jobs, including some that were not considered women's work at the beginning of the war. These numbers reinforce that many positions were available to women and that they were choosing not to take them.

The experiences of Waterloo County's women do not reflect the experience of Canada as a whole when compared with the assessment of Canada's female workforce during the war contained in Ruth Pierson's work. Pierson's work demonstrates that women made up the following percentage of the workforce in Canada throughout the war: in 1939 women equal 24.4% of the workforce, in 1944 women reached their wartime high of 33.5% of the workforce, and then that the number declined until 1954 to

23.6% in that year and did not reach its 1945 level until 1966.[23] These statistics, along with other evidence, allowed Pierson to draw conclusions about women at the national level that once again were experienced differently in Waterloo County. The first objection that Pierson raises regarding the treatment of women in the workforce is that they are merely a reserve pool of workers that are raised out of necessity only.[24] The statistics of Waterloo County demonstrate that this was not the case throughout that area, as women comprised thirty-one percent of the workforce in 1939, 6.6% higher than the national average. In addition, the constant need for women workers during and after the war and inability to fill all of the available positions in Waterloo County show that the percentage of women in the workforce had the potential to be higher if more women had chosen to work.

The next objection Pierson raises is the way in which women were advertised to during the drives of the National Selective Service to find and train women workers. The National advertising campaigns stressed a woman's obligation to work during the national emergency, it did not mention or support a woman's right to work.[25] The national advertising actually demonstrates the problems of Waterloo County quite well and is therefore, appropriate. Waterloo County's women were not answering the calls for employment in the area and did not fill all of the vacancies. They could not relocate enough women from other areas across Canada to fill the positions either. Since women did not want to fill the positions, the advertising suggesting an obligation to support the country over the right to work could have helped to motivate some women who otherwise were choosing not to enter the work force.

The final objection that Pierson raises over the treatment of women in the workplace is the lack of continuity in government initiatives and the availability of work. The Government of Canada had introduced measures to try to convince women to join the workforce for the duration of the war. At the end of the war, the government revoked tax incentives that allowed women to earn higher wages while remaining a dependant of their husbands at tax time.[26] The government also revoked the childcare plan that allowed free day care to women workers with small children.[27] In addition, the government gave the returning soldiers their pre-war jobs back when they returned regardless of the economic necessity of the worker holding the position while the soldier was away. Pierson implies that these changes are the reason why the percentage of women in the workforce dropped in part, along with the desire of many women to marry younger. At the national level, these changes were not progressive for women. However, continuity in types of employment available to women in Waterloo County and the number of positions available has been demonstrated through the newspaper classified sections of available work, the Labour Gazette's statistics of gender in the workforce in Kitchener-Waterloo and the post-war planning reports issued by the Chamber of Commerce and the Counsel of Local Women. This indicates progress in gaining equality at the local or regional level for the women of Waterloo County.

The experiences of Waterloo County's women support the alternative perspectives offered throughout the literature of working women and World War II. According to Hartmann, the war offered expanded job opportunities for women to gain new experiences and gave women more choices over the role they wanted to play to support the war effort.[28] Waterloo County's women were indeed offered new

opportunities through training courses in machine shop and inspection as well as other new jobs in manufacturing. This also supports Weatherford's argument that new jobs expanded the definition of what was considered women's work. Although her example was of bank tellers and bookkeepers, which may have been true for Waterloo County, women's jobs locally expanded to include fan belt wrappers and shoemakers.[29]

Weatherford has also argued that women changed the workplace for both the men and women, for good. Through building better facilities for women such as nicer showers, creating sports teams, newsletters and the hiring of counsellors to deal with worker concerns, employers responded to the needs of women in the workplace.[30] This is demonstrated in the classified ads of the Kitchener Daily Record. At the war's end, advertisements that tried to convince women to work at the various factories listed a variety of incentives. The Sunshine Company of Waterloo was offering a brand new sport facility and inter-company ball leagues as well as many other benefits to working for them. These benefits were not a feature of classified employment ads before the war and only appeared in the post-war, showing that Waterloo County's women had indeed changed the workplace.

Gluck posited another argument for progress for women in World War II. She argued that women were able to keep some of the manufacturing work that they had obtained during the war. This gave women access to the higher wages offered in manufacturing, compared to traditional women's jobs, even though the rate of pay was not equal to men. This meant that women had more buying power and a greater ability to support themselves.[31] This was certainly the case in Waterloo County. As demonstrated

by the classified ads in the Daily Record, manufacturers needed and desired women to work in their factories into the post-war.

The evidence concerning the female workforce of Waterloo County supports the idea that World War II was progressive for women in gaining greater access to higher paying employment and thus, financial independence and buying power. This was not only for the duration of the war, but continued into the post-war if women chose to work. Access to a variety of positions was available to women in both traditional employment and the manufacturing sector. Choice is ultimately the reason why the percentage of Waterloo County's women in the workforce dropped temporarily in the post-war years.

Chapter Three:

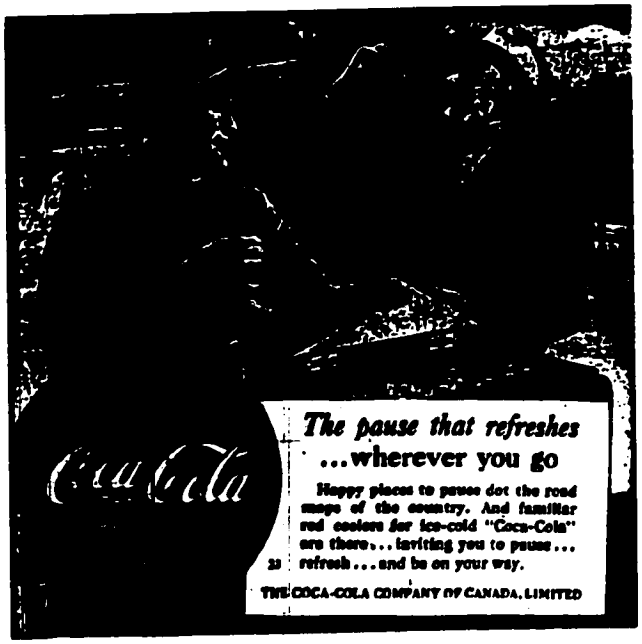
Visual Images of Women in the Press

The ways in which women were presented in pictures throughout the newspapers during the war speaks to the ways in which society viewed them. Often the images of advertising reflect the society in which we live and try to speak to us in the roles that we have that their product can help us perform. However, looking at images of women without comparing them to the images of men throughout the war can be misleading as to why advertising changes the way that it shows women. In order to provide a more balanced view of the changing images of women this paper has included the changing images of men to demonstrate the trends of advertising during the war.

Images of women in advertising and the approaches of advertising changed throughout the war. There were some ads that remained the same throughout the war. Local Department stores, such as Goudies and Budds, as well as ads for fashion products always advertised their sales and weekly savings using pencil outlines of men and women in the style of suit or dress that they were trying to sell. The men and women in the ads were always smiling and generally good-looking. The reason that department store ads did not change was most likely due to cost. The ads were cheaper to produce than ads that contained full pictures of people. Ads for cosmetics also remained the same throughout the war. The ads focused on beauty and the illusion of beauty that the product would give women. The themes and styles of advertising cosmetics probably did not change since beauty was the product's purpose and only one group in society used the products.

Throughout 1939-1940, women appeared in traditional roles as a housewife or mother in newspaper advertisements. In contrast, men always appeared at work in ads. Often the men in the ads wore the uniform of their trade such as a policeman, a butcher, or a mechanic whether the ad was for the services that the tradesman provided or for cereal or soda. However, men were rarely shown working and were merely spokes models in workmen's uniforms. Throughout these years, companies with generic products that anyone could use, such as Corn Flakes, would often pay for several ads that were aimed at all those who could use their products creating a need for separate ads for women, men and children. 1941 brought a change in the ways that these ads were created. Rather than have completely different advertisements for the target audiences, many companies created templates in which they could impose the face of a man or woman as well as an accompanying picture in the same ad. This allowed the company to aim the product to both men and women, but have a less expensive ad campaign.

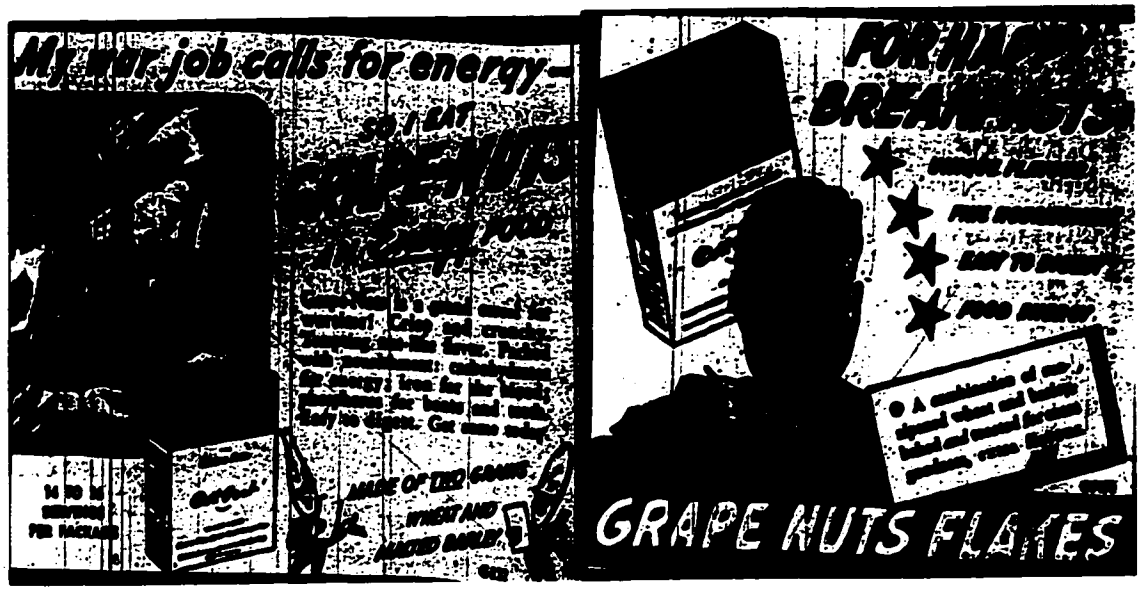
Advertising Images 1939-1941

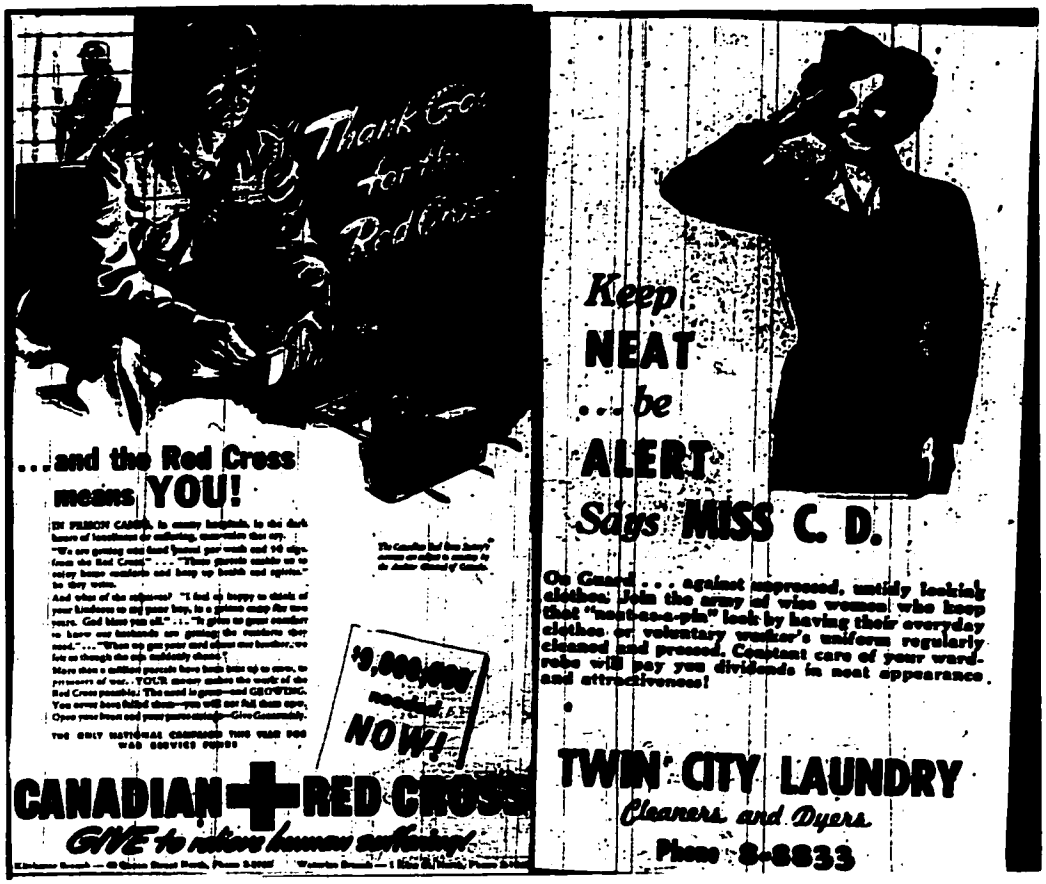


In 1942, new images of women began to appear in the newspaper advertisements. While men continued to appear in the same fashion, women were now being portrayed as workers as well. As with men, women were in the uniforms of workers, but not actually performing any work. Workingwomen were not treated as a novelty, but as the kind of woman that existed in society. There was little discussion of women working in the ads and instead a focus on the war and working to support it. For example an advertisement for Grape-Nuts cereal in the Record in 1942, showed a woman in overalls and a workers kerchief eating the cereal. The Ad announced that "Grape-Nuts is a grand cereal for

wartime!"[1] This was due to the nutrition and energy that the cereal provided.

Advertising Images 1942





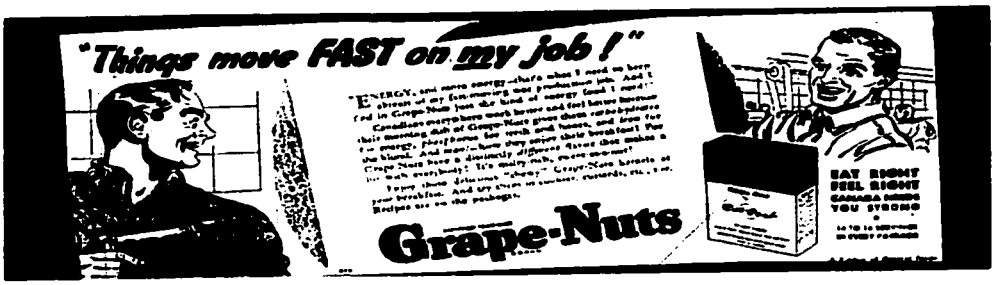
Men and women also began to appear in military uniforms in 1942. Although there had been some ads showing men in uniform earlier, they were the exception more than the rule. Now people in uniform began to dominate advertising. Whenever a man or woman was presented in uniform, they were good-looking models with perfect hair and pretty features. Fit and thin was the rule for soldiers in ads whether for recruitment or as part of advertising for products. The perfect specimens of men and women became the dominant image in military advertising throughout the war. In 1943, military recruitment ads used these images and incorporated the ideas of other companies in creating templates for their ads.

The women's military recruitment ads pictured three women in the three services' uniforms from the shoulders up. All of the women are looking away from the camera, two are smiling and one has little expression. The ads says, "There's Adventure in the word...'For service anywhere.'"[2] Similarly, the military ads for men showed three men in the uniforms of the three services looking away from the camera. One is smiling, one has little expression and the other is staring intently into the distance. The ad says, "Wherever they are...wherever they serve..."[3] The theme of the ads is the same; they express adventure, being needed to join up and travel in the services. The only difference between the presentation of the two ads is that the men are holding the tools of their service- for example the army soldier is holding a gun.

In addition to military images, war workers became a strong focus of advertising in 1943. There were no changes in the presentation of men in workers uniforms, however there was a shift in the ways in which female war workers were presented. Women were now being shown in the workplace performing their duties. The images of

women working appear to have been a novelty. Although these images would continue through 1944 they would not continue into the post-war, nor would men be shown working during the war or up to 1947.

Advertising Images 1943



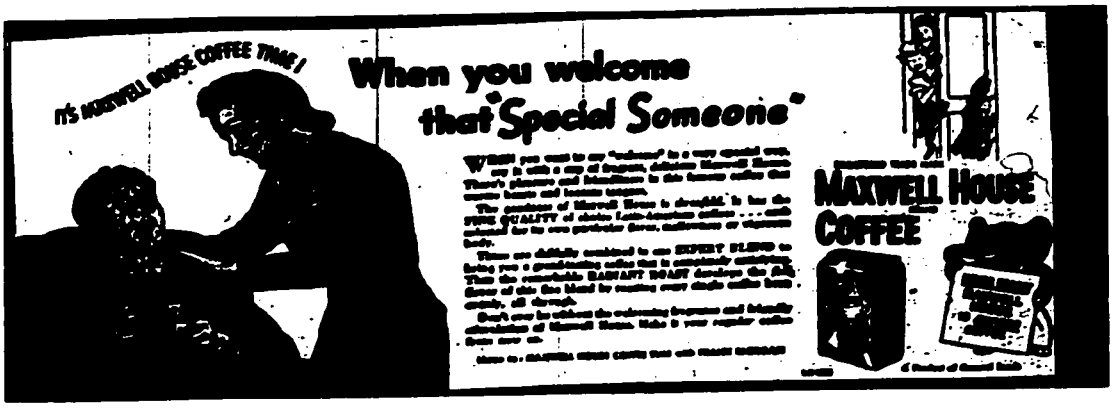
In the post-war advertising would change its focus again. Traditional women's roles began to reappear in product ads, but this time advertisers were reflecting the trend of marriage that was happening at an increased rate in society. Rather than limit a woman's role to a housewife, ads were aiming at finding a husband and love. A Maxwell House Coffee ad provides an example by saying that its coffee should be given "when you want to say 'welcome' in a very special way." The picture is of a young man being served coffee by a young woman.[4]

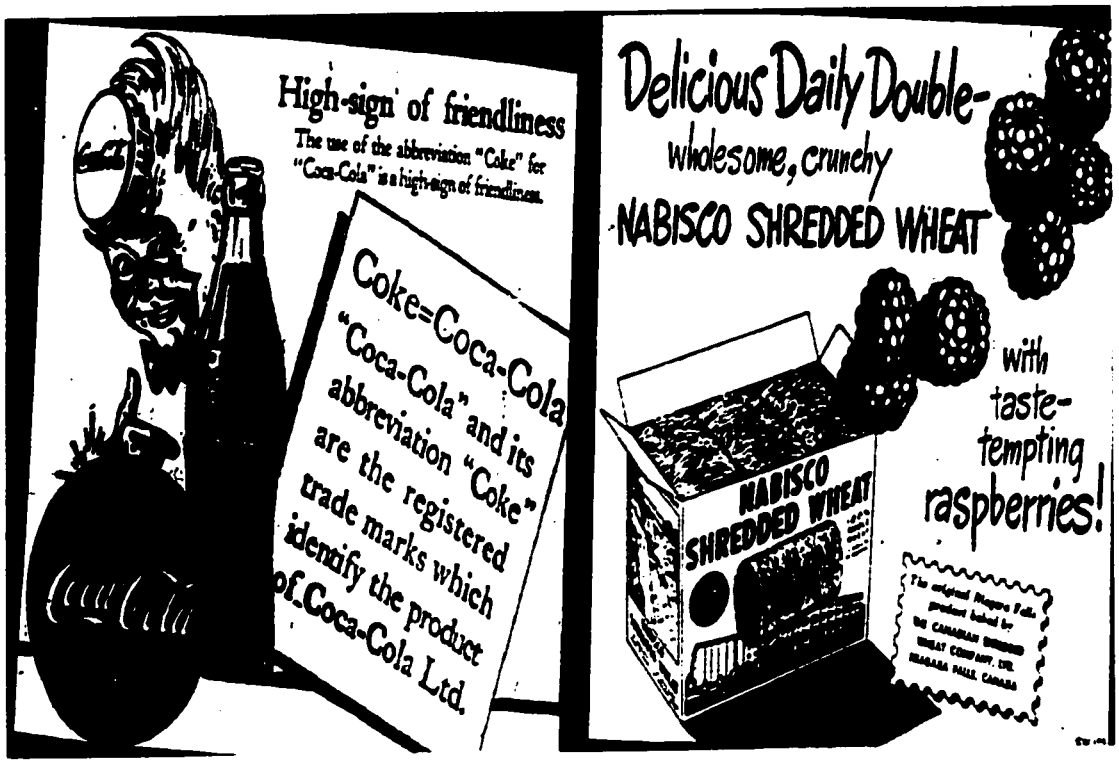
Women still appeared as workers in company advertisements in the post-war. Many of these ads were printed to thank women for their wartime service and advertise positions for them to return to if they had decided to continue working. Other ads showed women workers with men. One such ad campaign, from the Bell Telephone Company, was printed to apologize to its customers for a shortage of workers to maintain

its communication networks near the end of the war. Although essential service was maintained, there were times when there were no phone lines available due to a lack of staff, however with the war's end they were hiring more people to fill the jobs to keep the phone lines open.[5] Once again women were not shown performing work, but in the uniform of a worker.

Although women continued to be shown in a variety of roles in post-war advertising, advertising trends began to change in ways that excluded both genders. Generic items that could be used by women, men and children began to use product shots, mascots and logos instead of people. The Coca-Cola bottle had appeared in ads on its own during the war, but this presentation dominated Coke ads in the immediate post-war. Coke also created a mascot in a boy with a large Coke bottle cap for a forehead to endorse its product.[6]

Images of Advertising in the Post-War





Advertising throughout the war reflected the changing trends in society. When there was fighting in the war, images of men and women in uniform entered the pictures in ads. When women began to have a large role in the workforce, they were pictured as workers in ads and when they began to marry at a high rate, marriage became the focus of the ads. Thus, women appeared in many different roles during the war years. However, the same was true of men who began to appear in military uniforms in advertising. Many of the changes in advertising appear to have come out of cost effective moves from products that appealed to many. Advertising moved from creating four or more ads to appeal to its many audiences to creating templates that could easily be manipulated to advertise to many. Towards the end of the war, logos, mascots and products shots became the dominant images for these products. Women did appear in various roles throughout the war and did not lose these roles, outside of military images, in post-war advertising although there was a return to more traditional female roles in these years. At

the same time, men experienced little change in the roles that they were portrayed in with the exception of the military in advertisements. This suggests limited progress in the images of women to include workingwomen in post-war imagery, despite a return to a more domestic woman overall.

Like advertising, popular culture often reflects the society that it attempts to portray. Mainstream popular culture, such as comic strips run in newspapers, tend to be conservative in the stories that they tell in order to appeal to a wide audience and continue publishing. Notwithstanding, the changing roles of women were reflected in the popular culture available in The Kitchener Daily Record's comic strips. Comic books, fiction and films provide other examples of popular culture that can afford to be more risqué in their storylines as they can appeal to alternative audiences and publish in smaller numbers. Obvious examples of female role changes during the Second World War, in popular culture, were found in American role models like Wonder Woman and Lois Lane that were being read throughout Canada and certainly had an influence over readers. However, it is difficult to prove that Waterloo County's women were avid readers of the comic books in which these characters appeared. Notwithstanding, an examination of the Kitchener Daily Record's comic strips throughout the war did show that women were being portrayed in new ways in popular culture. Women aided men in solving the case, volunteered time to help in the war, rescued superheroes from their enemies and had different jobs. Unfortunately, no Canadian made comics appear in the daily comic page of the Kitchener Daily Record or the Galt Reporter, only American strips in syndication.

Particular attention was paid to a daily comic strip called *Side Glances* that appeared in the editorial section of the Daily Record before, during and after the war. *Side Glances* was a one-panel comic with a punch line to go with the picture in the panel. There were no repeating characters in the strip and it did not focus on any one age group or gender in its jokes. Before 1939, the comic portrayed women in traditional roles such as mother, wife or in traditional employment roles such as reception work or a retail clerk. Through a detailed examination of the comics in various years of the war, changing attitudes towards women can be demonstrated in the stories.

The first comic examined was printed in the Daily Record on September 5, 1939. Canada had yet to declare war on Germany and women had not yet been mobilized to join the workforce. The picture is of two women, presumable a wife and her domestic. The domestic is sitting on a stool in the kitchen by the stove reading the newspaper in an apron and dress with small-heeled shoes. The wife is holding the kitchen door open and motioning to the domestic to get up with her other hand. She is wearing an apron and dress with high-heeled shoes and a scarf over her hair. Both women have obviously been awake and about for some time since they are dressed and the domestic already seems tired out from cleaning. The caption under the picture reads, "I heard the ol' man gargling—we'd better start the breakfast." This particular comic is a good example of the ways in which women were portrayed in the strip in the early years of the war. The woman has the role of keeping her house with the help of a domestic and it is their responsibility to take care of the family, in this case the husband. The wife is not getting ready for work as she is already there. The roles assigned the wife and domestic are very traditional roles for women.

The first comic that broke with a new kind of woman appeared in the Daily Record on June 17, 1941. By this point in the war, women were beginning to take on new roles. In Waterloo County, women were working increasingly in new jobs as the training programs graduated women in inspections and machine shop and women were beginning to move to the area to take on war work. The picture is of a group of three men in work pants and suspenders talking outside the post-office. Two women are heading towards the post-office to send off some mail. They are dressed in pants with sexy tops that are slightly revealing, flat shoes, big bracelets and have their hair long and done up to look nice. They have stopped to speak to each other a few yards away from the men. The caption reads, "Let's wait two or three days more before we write the boyfriends to come up—maybe we haven't seen all the men yet." The images of the women have changed from a housewife to a sultry, independent woman who can travel on her own and make her own decisions. Throughout the next year, women would

appear both as housewives and in the new role of an independent woman in new clothing styles, with different attitudes and using a different language.

The next comic that will be discussed appeared in the Daily Record on August 13, 1942. At this point in the war, women are taking on increasingly more roles in the workforce, especially in manufacturing. The picture in the comic is of two women. They are wearing black boots, pants, heavy gloves that go over their wrists, a button-up shirt with pockets on both sides of the chest and a hat with their hair tucked into it. One of the women is straining to lift a heavy garbage can and the other is about to lift another garbage can, but has stopped to look at the other woman while she speaks. The caption says "My older brother wanted to enlist, but somebody had to stay home and support the family—wouldn't I hate to be in his shoes." Women are now being portrayed performing men's work in men's clothes. The irony of the caption is that the brother had to stay home from the war to support their family when the woman was quite obviously capable of doing so herself since she is gainfully employed in hard work that had been considered men's work before the war.

Throughout the remainder of the war *Side Glances* portrayed women in a variety of roles rather than only as a mother or wife. However, there were other changes occurring to family members in the comics as women's roles increased in society. On January 20, 1944, *Side Glances* printed its first comic that suggested that the new female roles were affecting other members of the family and the ways in which they saw their women. The picture is of a woman getting ready for a night out. She is wearing an evening gown with her hair and make-up done. The woman is looking for something on her vanity table. Her two children, a son and a daughter, are dressed in pyjamas watching their mother great ready and the son is speaking to his mother. The caption reads: "Mom, if you can't join the W.A.C.S. why don't you be a spy? You're beautiful, and you catch us every time we try to get away with anything!" The son sees his mother's abilities, through the eyes of a child, and wants to help her to do her part for the war effort or to find a job that she would be skilled at performing. It does not occur to the boy that his mother's career options may be limited due to her gender, if women could join the army they could do anything else, seems to be his attitude.

Another *Side Glances* comic that portrayed family members in new roles appeared on February 8, 1944. The picture is of a woman and her son staring at her husband in their living room. The father/husband is dressed in outdoor clothing, an overcoat and hat, and is carrying a large, tall parcel. He is speaking to his wife and son. The caption reads: "Since I've had to help with the dishes every night, the thought has been growing on me that paper plates would be wonderful—so I bought some!" This cartoon implies that with the movement of women into the public sphere to support the

war effort men had to help to pick up the slack at home. It shows a man learning that housework is not easy and the tasks are not always enjoyable.

The women in *Side Glances*, along with their families were keeping up with the changes in society. Women had become assertive, independent and held many different jobs throughout the war years. Their families had to pitch in to keep up the housework and learn to see their mother as a new woman as the definition of women grew. However, housewives had generally appeared the same way, as gentle mothers and doting wives- with the exception of the occasional comic that had a wife who always spent her husband's earnings. On March 12, 1946, the first depiction of a woman being assertive in the home appeared in *Side Glances*. The picture is of a man washing dishes in the kitchen and his wife is drying the dishes. She is wearing a dress with her hair done up, an apron and high heals. He is wearing a shirt and pants. The couple's clothing suggests that they have both been at work that day. The caption reads: "And what did you say to the sergeant when he asked you to do the dishes, dear?" The comic demonstrates a growing equality between men and women in couples. The woman is

now able to ask her husband to help her with housework, or to demand it of him when he is less than eager to help.

This evidence suggests that popular culture was open to the new woman that the war created and that there was continuity in the ways in which women were portrayed in the post-war years. Although the traditional images of clerks and housewives continued to appear throughout the war and post-war they were intertwined with a new independent woman that could work in a variety of jobs. Since the strips appeared daily in the local newspaper, it can be assumed that many citizens of Waterloo County read the strips and saw the same changes throughout the war.

The general trend in wartime images of women was to expand the roles of women in advertising and popular culture. All the roles that were gained during the war continued to be shown in the post-war along with traditional female roles. Unfortunately, there is no way to measure the influence that comics and advertising in the paper had on the people of Waterloo County. It can be surmised that advertising and images in popular culture reflected the attitudes of the times and, therefore, that attitudes towards women were in fact changing to encompass a much broader image than had previously been seen.

Chapter Four:

It's a Different World, Waterloo County and the Women's Armed Forces

Waterloo County has a military tradition that dates back to before confederation, when militia units were formed in New Hamburg, Galt and Waterloo. During the First World War 3,763 men and women from Waterloo County served in the forces or as nursing sisters in the defence of Britain and Canada.[1] During the Second World War Waterloo County would again answer the military call of their country through the contributions of the 3,300 men and 133 women who joined the armed forces in Kitchener alone. A training centre for the army housing male soldiers through basic training was located at Knollwood Park in Kitchener during the Second World War which would become the first of two training centres in Waterloo County to house female soldiers through basic training. The other training centre for the Royal Canadian Navy Women's Division (WRENS), the H.M.C.S. Conestoga, was located in Galt.

Women's auxiliary forces were approved for the Canadian Army and Air force in 1941, the Navy in 1942. By the end of 1942, the auxiliary component of the names would be dropped and for the first time in Canadian history women were officially allowed a role in the armed forces. There were concerns over how the public would react and whether women themselves would be open to joining the forces upon their creation, but the military assured society that women would not take on combatant roles and would only be used in support roles to free up a man to do the fighting. The advertising campaigns for enlistment pictured glamorous women in uniform to reinforce that women would not lose their femininity by choosing to wear a uniform. Indeed, they would be able to both serve their country in the armed forces and still remain lady-like. Despite

these assurances women who joined the armed forces did face some difficult experiences in the community.

Katherine (Kay) Hall, formerly Katherine Rawlings, of Toronto worked at the post office and lived in her parents home when she decided to join the army in 1943. She recounted how she joined the army and her family's reactions:

> My friend and I were going to meet each other downtown to see a show. And we said while we're down at the show we'll go to the thing in front of City Hall, the kiosk stand and recruiting station. So we decided we would meet there, but she didn't show up. I saw [another] friend near by and I said "I'm going to join the army" and she said it was the best thing I'd ever do. That gave me some courage, I went across the road, and I went right up to the stand and the girl said, "you're not 18." I said, "I will be in a couple more weeks." She said, "I'll give you this paper and you go up to the parliament buildings and get your birth certificate." After much hassle, I got it...because my name was backwards. I took it to City Hall and the girl says, "I can't believe you're that age." So I signed the papers and she said, "you'll be hearing from us." I went home and my mother was getting my father's supper and I said, "you never told me my name was backwards...instead of Katherine Mary, it's Mary Katherine." My mother says, "What are you talking about?" So I told her that I had to get my birth certificate, "and what did you need your birth certificate for?" I turned away as I told her I joined the army. And she started to cry and scream, what a rotten daughter I was, how could I do this to them, a girl of all things in the army. So my father was there and he said, "she'll get over it."

> Any how...my sister and I decided to go over to my grandparents on a Sunday and she said, "Don't you dare mention the army." I said, "Forget all about it cause I'm not really going to go, I was just trying it out." I lied through my teeth. My bag was packed in my cupboard and in the morning, I was to report in. I came down...My mother had my breakfast ready and I ate my breakfast and I went upstairs and grabbed my bag and I ran out the front door- "Bye mom, I'll see you in a couple of weeks!" And I ran out the door and that was that.

Fortunately, Kay's family came around to the idea of their daughter/sister being in the army. She had joined in September and by Christmas "they were all quite pleased about it- I had smartened up and I had finally started to grow up."[2]

Jean Sivyer, formerly Jean Flaherty, of Kitchener had a different response from her family when she decided to enlist:

> I decided to join up because...I was with my girlfriend, it was Saturday, and we were shopping around, of course. We were in a store and we saw two women in uniform and we thought it was men... "Well that looks alright" [I] thought "that would do."...So anyhow, before you knew it, I was out. I'd passed the 17 mark and I thought "well I can get away with it before too long." I tried and went to the Kiosk at City Hall and they gave me all this information. And there was a man there and he said, "well you know you have to be 18." And I said, "can you not join if you're 17, you know if you ask permission?" He said, "No, not for anything, you gotta be 18." And I went home and talked with my sister, who was just a bit pregnant at the time- you know like about six months or something like that...Anyhow, I got her birth certificate and I used her birth certificate all the

> way through. I got away with it and then I joined up from there. My parents, I don't think they minded. My brother was overseas at the time, and my mother came from a very military family so it didn't shock her too much to find that I might want to go into the service and do something like that. Her father was killed in the first war.

Jean's family had been more open to the idea of a woman in the services and did not challenge her decision. Her sister even helped her to get into the service through lending her sister her birth certificate. These actions suggest that there were different reactions within families and that women received different levels of support from their families when they made their initial decisions.[3]

Jean and Kay both did their basic training in Kitchener in 1943, although at different times. Even though newspaper reports indicate Kitchener welcomed the creation of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) Basic Training Centre, Kay and Jean experienced some different attitudes in their early days in the army. When Jean had first joined the army, she lived in the Kingsdale area of Kitchener on Fourth Ave. She remembered people running to their windows to stare at her as she walked down the street in uniform on her way to and from the barracks. Kay and Jean both remembered that some people would "practically knock you off the sidewalk- you know if you were just walking around" in uniform. In addition, a whispering campaign about the women in the armed forces attempted to denigrate the character of the female soldiers. Kay and Jean remembered being called "bed sheets for the fellas" and being told women were only allowed in the army to keep the men happy.[4]

Jean was the first girl in her area to join the army and the uniqueness of a woman in uniform caused most of the window watching. Soon after Jean signed up, another young woman on her street followed and joined the army. The people in the neighbourhood soon became used to seeing the women in uniform through the visits of these young women and the army friends they brought home and no one ran to their windows to stare after a while. Eventually the people of Waterloo County came around as well, as they too became used to seeing the female soldiers throughout their towns.

The whispering campaign against the female soldiers in Waterloo County was serious enough to be warned against at a meeting at the YWCA in October of 1942. The purpose of the meeting was to gather together church groups and women's volunteer organizations to create a committee of women to help provide recreation and other services that the CWACs at Knollwood Park would require throughout the war. Nineteen women's organizations and ten churches were represented at the meeting. A speech given by Mrs. Breithaupt reminded those present that the men in uniform had been treated well in Kitchener during their stay and that same courtesy and welcoming attitude should also be given to the CWACs. She went on to say; "Kitchener will have a share in the initial training of these women, who go forth to do a man's job in this war directly from home to your city. If I were to give you a text as the foundation of the work you will do with this group I would offer: Judge not lest ye be judged- be slow to speak." The committee would find support from all of the organizations present at the meeting in forming a committee to provide for the soldiers and even more support would be forth coming as the war continued and more women attended Basic Training in Kitchener.[5]

The committee, with the help of women's volunteer organizations, such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), worked hard to ensure that the women who came to Kitchener for basic training were welcomed into the community and provided with recreation. The IODE helped the women with other needs like donating magazines and books to the base library and even providing ironing equipment for the soldiers' uniforms.[6] Two other events of the many that the committee, with the community's help, created for the CWACS included an anniversary celebration at Barber's Beach and having the CWACS lead one of the main floats in an impromptu VJ day celebration on King Street in Kitchener.[7]

The picnic at Barber's beach was a tremendous success as all who attended had a good time. Over 500 CWACS from the local Training Centre attended the picnic to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the CWACS. The Raltar Company of Kitchener donated trucks to transport the women to the beach and the committee for the CWACS filled the day with recreational activities. "There were inter-company ball games, three legged races, and all the sports that go to make a successful picnic. For those who didn't participate in these, there was swimming, boating and dancing at night." A highlight of the day was a ball game between the officers and the headquarters company. However, due to "military secrecy" the result was not reported.[8]

Kay and Jean remembered that there were dances held every Saturday night for the CWACS and the military men in the area. What Kay remembered most about the community support was visiting local families for Sunday dinners. Families would drive over to the Basic Training Centre, pick up a half dozen soldiers, and take them back to their homes for a Sunday dinner and some quiet time away from the rigours of base life.

Kay recalls being welcomed into the homes as though you were part of the family. It was a nice way for the soldiers to relax and meet people in the community at the end of a long week.[9]

Another event that was held at the Basic Training Centre was held to promote an understanding between women war workers and the female soldiers. Eight women war workers from the local United Garment Workers of America union were chosen to represent the female workforce and learn what army life was all about.[10] For three days, these women lived at the base according to its customs. The CWACS found the women cooperative and interesting. The CWACS reported that, "After the route marches, sojourns to the gas chambers, schemes and life in the barracks, they told us they would love to be in the army."[11]

The WRENS produced a comical musical play titled "Meet the Navy" to inform the community about the roles of women and men in the navy in a light-hearted performance. "Meet the Navy" came to Galt on December 13, 1943 and was well attended by 1,200 residents. The Galt Reporter gave the play a great review as a "fast stepping, colourful musical revue, the like of has never been seen here before...It was in every sense a good show with catchy tunes, rhythmic dance numbers, pretty girls and clever dialogue."[12] The play included numerous WRENS who received acclaim in the review for their dancing abilities and one particular dance number that wowed the audience with special effects and dance.

Like the CWACS in Kitchener, the WRENS of Galt were kept active through the contributions of their community. In the evenings there were ball games, musical appreciation groups, movies and handicraft classes to attend if a WREN did not want to

spend the night relaxing in the fo'c'sle. Community groups such as the Beaver Club hosted the WRENS by providing them with a home away from home. Dances and picnics were held on a weekly basis for the WRENS and servicemen from nearby bases and the people of Galt opened their homes to the sailors for Sunday dinners and quiet time away from the base.[13]

The community of Galt was involved in picking the name for the ship. Suggestions for the ships name were received from the official naval section that selects names for H.M. ships. However, the name chosen by the townspeople of Galt won as it reflected the pioneer past of the area and "Canada's courageous present."[14] In fact, the people of Galt became so involved in their support of the WRENS that they too began to call the five buildings at the top of the hill outside the city "the ship."

Interest in the activities of the female soldiers was high and reported on in the local newspapers. Every aspect of the Training Camp's activities, from graduations to new courses offered, were reported in the papers. One example of such an article reported that the first graduates from the school of cookery at Knollwood Park were presented with their diplomas.[15] The article provides a description of their duties, congratulations to the graduates and a special mention to Pte. E.D. Armstrong for graduating head of her class.

Interest in the local women who joined the forces was also high and the paper diligently reported what was happening to its own soldiers, both male and female, from joining up, to earning promotions, to going overseas and coming home. Local men and women were given equal attention throughout the war and the stories appeared on the same pages of the papers- female soldiers stories were not relegated to the women's

section of the paper. This demonstrated that interest in the soldiers' experiences was universal and not just a following for one sex. The Daily Record would provide a picture of the soldier and a brief caption underneath to say what had happened to the soldier and where they were from, such as:

COMMISSIONED — Lieut. Helen Harbar, 156 Pandora Ave., recently graduated from an officers' training course at St. Anne de Bellevue, Que., where she is now stationed.[16]

The Galt Reporter also reported the promotions and accomplishments of local servicewomen. Like the Daily Record, the Reporter printed the stories in the news section of the paper rather than the women's pages. A typical story in the Reporter would provide the pictures of several members of the armed forces across the top of the page and their accounts underneath. Men and women were pictured together in the row of pictures. One such story told that Helen Kerr of Preston had been commissioned in the Army Medical Corps and was the second Preston servicewoman to go overseas. Included in the same story were the accounts of five local servicemen and their whereabouts.[17] In addition to reporting on local soldiers, the Reporter also listed the names of all the new recruits to HMCS *Conestoga* upon their arrival to the base regardless of where in the country the recruits came from.[18]

When a special promotion was earned by a local soldier, the paper would provide a full story on what the promotion was and what the new duties and responsibilities would involve. Local pride was demonstrated in the article reporting Doris Robinson's graduation in the first class of Visual Signallers of the WRENS in August of 1944. Doris, along with another woman, were to be stationed on the east coast where they would use special lights to signal weather conditions and other information to incoming ships. The sailors also were required to go to sea on occasion for a day at a time. The sailors were on their own in their post and knew the importance of their work. Although Doris did not feel burdened by the responsibility she did admit that "we have to be accurate...men's lives depend on our not making a mistake." Doris could not say much more about her new duties due to naval tradition, but the article was sure to mention that she was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T.R. Robinson of Onward Ave and that she had worked as a munitions inspector while waiting for the call to join the navy.[19]

From uncertain family reactions to slanderous remarks from the community the servicewomen endured and despite a shaky start, Waterloo County had come to welcome and support the WRENS and the CWACS. Providing entertainment, dances, picnics and welcoming the soldiers into their homes for Sunday dinners showed a remarkable change in the community and eventually ended the hostility towards women in uniform in Waterloo County. Interest in the local soldiers kept the community up to date regarding their own sons and daughters and both sexes received an equal chance to have their accounts heard in the same section of the local paper. The evidence suggests that Waterloo County became proud of its daughters in the forces and open to the new

military role that women were being given the chance to try through its support of the local Training Centres and interest in its soldiers.

Military life was a different world for the women who joined the services. Basic Training in the army was the same course as the men received with the exception of gun training; although some women did receive instructions in the use of weapons and mathematics of artillery trajectories. Kay and Jean recalled their arrivals on base in different ways. Jean lived in Kitchener so the adjustment of leaving home was not as difficult since her family was in the same city. Kay had come from Toronto for Basic Training and was initially upset by the experience, expressing feelings of being lost. It was Kay's first time away from home at 18 years of age and she could not bring herself to call her mother, as she was heartbroken. Jean found military life scary at first. Her life had little discipline before she had joined the army and the rapid change to military life was a difficult adjustment.

The Army's Basic Training course lasted six weeks. The soldiers were housed in rustic conditions. The rooms that the women lived in had three-quarter walls and two bunk beds. Four women lived in each room and the rooms were designed to go around the perimeter of the larger room with a coal fire oven in the middle of the larger room to provide heat for the soldiers. Women who trained in Kitchener in the winter remembered the cold more than anything else they experienced. Risking discipline, the women would wear extra clothing under their nightclothes to try to keep warm. They also remembered frost forming on the inside of the barracks on really cold nights. The soldiers' days were split up between lectures, drill and extra duties on a four-day cycle. They would tend the fires, fetch coal, do the dishes and scrub the floors on top of all the marching.[20]

Kay and Jean remember the endless hours of marching fondly. They recall that after the first few times "your leg muscles would bunch up tight and sore," but after a while you got used to it and the pain stopped. The parade route would sometimes take the soldiers through Kitchener and at other times, they would march into the countryside. When they marched through town the people would stop and watch them. Sometimes children would yell at the soldiers "They said left" or "you got the wrong foot" to make jokes about the soldiers. The veterans remember singing at the top of their lungs as they marched; the song "We Are the Girls of the Army Corps" was Kay's favourite marching song.

There were aspects of military life that Kay and Jean found invasive and upsetting. The first one was the shower facilities. The showers did not have any cubicles around them for privacy, so it was fourteen women showering in the open. They never got used to it and valued their visits home to have a shower in private. The other aspect of military life that caused distress was the medicals that they faced upon enlistment. On Kay's first day of training she had to report to the medical officer, as the other soldiers did. The male doctor's first question was "when was your last period." Kay almost quit the army right there and then due to embarrassment. The needles for inoculations were a prominent memory of Basic Training. Jean remembers that "you got all sorts of needles all over your arms right up to your shoulders and some of the girls swelled up really bad" or became sick from the inoculations with minor flus or colds.

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Gas mask drills were among the scariest aspect of Basic Training. Kay recalled that just putting the mask on scared soldiers. It was difficult to breathe with the masks on and most of the soldiers could not wait to get through to the end of the drills. The officers were also frightening. They yelled gruffly at the soldiers while they marched and instilled fear so that the women would become disciplined. However, discipline was not particularly harsh when soldiers had trouble performing tasks. Kay had fallen asleep one night while taking her shift at tending the coal fire. The other soldiers depended on the fire for warmth so it was an important responsibility. At some point in the night, Kay heard voices, but decided to pretend to stay asleep and hope that they would tend the fire. The officer, who had come to inspect the barracks to be sure that the women had gone to sleep decided not to discipline Kay and instead fixed the fire and let her sleep. Another example of how soldiers who had difficulty performing tasks was given by Jean. She recalled a tall lanky soldier who could not get her arms and legs to cooperate during

marching. In order to help the soldier out, she was taken aside after dinner by an officer and given personal instruction for a few evenings until she got it right.

The WRENS trained at H.M.C.S. Conestoga in Galt. They faced many of the same challenges that the army women did during their three-week Basic Training course. The Navy's Basic Training course consisted of parade ground drills and learning naval customs and traditions.[22] The WRENS got up at 06:30 and their days were filled until supper ended at 19:00. They learned how to march in rows, to make bunks navy style with mitered corners and no creases in the sheets, dry dishes, scrub heads, swab the decks and tend a three acre vegetable garden.[23] In order to help with keeping the beds made properly the women learned how to get out of bed so carefully that they would not disturb the sheets and would only have to remake the bed once a week when the laundry was done.

[24]

Language was a major adjustment for the navy girls that the army girls did not experience in quite the same way. The first experience of a navy girl in Galt was "to take the duty boats to the HMCS Conestoga." The girls found it humorous that the buses and buildings had ship designations. Rosamond Greer commented that, "I'm not sure whether we sailed in them or rode in them; but either way, in due time we arrived at what we thought was a bunch of brick buildings (because it looked like a bunch of brick buildings), but it was, in fact, a ship."[25] Navy girls had to learn that the head was the bathroom, the galley was the kitchen, the cabin was the dormitory, the decks were the floors, the gangways were the hallways and the fo'c'sle was the lounge.[26] Sharing was a major adjustment in the navy as it was with the army. They shared showers and bedrooms. They shared combs, lipstick, money and anything else they might need.

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The women of both forces took their training and positions very seriously. They wanted to prove their mettle and do a good job in order to feel good about themselves and to show that they could perform well at a man's job. Sometimes this was taken a bit too seriously. The Inspector General announced that Kitchener's Training Centre would be up for inspection in a few days. The visit was preceded by a mad cleaning spree with mops and scrub brushes to ensure that the entire Training Centre was spotless for the inspection.

> "Cpl. Mickey Coleman, model NCO that she is, got down on her knees to scrub her cubicle on the evening prior to his visit. She made a beautiful job of it except for one patch of floor that simply wouldn't come clean in spite of her most strenuous efforts. She was attacking it for the umpteenth time when someone came to the door and lifted the curtain. Lo, the spot on the floor moved. Cpl. Coleman had been scrubbing vainly at a shadow."[28]

Although the account of Cpl. Coleman is quite humorous, it demonstrates the respect that the women had for their duties and the military lifestyle.

The military lifestyle continued past Basic Training. Jean was stationed in London, Ontario at the Meredith Barracks immediately after basic training. Initially she worked as a shoemaker and made repairs to shoes. This reminded her too much of life at home in the factories where she had been both a shoemaker and a welder in war industry before she joined the army. Jean decided that she would volunteer for the next position that came available so long as it did not resemble factory work. The next position that came up was for a cook and Jean signed up. They made food for over a hundred soldiers

at their barracks. She recalled sitting down with two bags of onions and having a good cry while she peeled them all and the weight of the pots full of one hundred portions of food. She still had to be up bright and early and her days were full right through until after dinner. Being a cook brought some advantages to Jean's family. The ordering for the food at the barracks had to be done two weeks in advance. The sergeant would make up the menus and place the order without knowing exactly how many women would be stationed at the barracks in those weeks. Sometimes soldiers would be absent on vacation or performing duties at other barracks and this would create extra food. They did not throw anything away, so Jean would bring food like butter, sugar and roasted meats home on the weekends when she visited for her family to enjoy. It helped make the rations liveable. Even though cooking was traditionally considered women's work, the context in which Jean was working was unique. The amount of food she had to cook was immense and the hours and protocol differed from working in the private sector.

Other differences between military life and civilian became apparent when Jean got a simple cold. It was the "wrong time of the month, which wasn't a good thing in the first place, and then a cold on top it." She was shifting and weaving a bit and could not stand at attention properly so the officer came over to see if she was okay. She had to go to sickbay for medical attention because she had a fever too. She was forced to stay in bed and take nose drops to make her better for a few days until the cold past. Well Jean could not believe what was happening: "At home you got a cold, so what? Take an aspirin and go to work or go out or whatever you were doing." Nevertheless, in the military she had to stay in bed for a "stupid little cold."

On another occasion, Jean had a pain in her side. She was sent to the hospital for two weeks where she was given aspirin when there was pain and rest to get better. The diagnosis ended up being for gastroenteritis. She called her parents to tell them she was in the hospital, but that she was okay when she realized that she would not be able to visit on the weekend. In the civilian world people did not go to the hospital, let alone stay in one, unless something serious was wrong. Jean's parents rushed down to London on the weekend to visit their ill daughter. The nurses could not tell the parents what was wrong, as is military custom and Jean had not yet been told. The nurse simply told her parents that "you have to help these girls out sometimes." Jean's sister thought that meant that Jean was pregnant and that the military was terminating the pregnancy. "All this for a little gas?!...Things were different in the military."

Life was different for the women in the armed forces. They rose with the sun and tirelessly performed their duties throughout the day. They had no privacy and had to learn to share everything they had. They had to learn basic functions like maintaining a coal stove to heat the barracks, what to call things in the military, how to march, how to maintain their barracks, what to do when they were sick and how to get through a gas attack. The men endured the same experiences upon enlistment with the exception that most women did not fire weapons. Camaraderie is what got the women through Basic Training and helped them to continue when things got hard. The experience was brand new for women since this was the first time that the forces were opened to them. It was both exciting and terrifying as the women learned to live in the most male dominated part of society- the armed forces. Fortunately, the community gathered around the women to

provide them with some sense of belonging in their new surroundings and the recreational ball games and dances made military life fun at times as well.

At the war's end, the women's divisions of the military were disbanded and would not be integrated into the forces permanently until the early 1950s when the Korean War broke out. The liberating experience that women gained during the Second World War came to a crashing halt at the disbandment of the services. Or did it? What these women learned and did stayed in their hearts and minds. The equality that the military gave them, although limited, changed these women and the way they saw themselves for good.

The military afforded greater direct equality with men than any other area of society during the war. The navy was especially ahead of the times regarding gender in the forces. WREN officers received the King's commission and held the same rank as men. They were entitled to salutes and all other marks of respect from both men and women in the three services. The only difference in insignia was the colour of the braids around the rank. The women wore a light blue braid around their ranks and the men wore a gold braid around their ranks. This was a mark of tradition dating back to the First World War when the British WRENS designed their own insignias in 1918. The navy wanted to honour this tradition and allowed its female officers to keep the original colour scheme.[29] The navy was ahead of the army in this regard, since in the army female officers were not given a King's commission and did not warrant a salute from male soldiers. Since the Air Force did not have any bases for women in Waterloo County, they fell outside of the scope of the research for this paper and it is unknown how its female officers were treated.

The most important WREN officer, through the eyes of history, is Lieutenant-Commander Isabel Janet Macneill. Commander Macneill was the first woman to command a ship in the British Commonwealth. Macneill was originally from Halifax, Nova Scotia where she lived with her family, including her father who was a university professor. Macneill was educated in Halifax and at the University of London, England. Before the war she had been a librarian, a scenic designer, a counsellor and a teacher; jobs that took her to England, Canada and America.[30] Macneill had been one of the first women to join the navy and was trained in Ottawa before being transferred to HMCS *Conestoga*. There she worked her way up the ranks to become the first officer of the ship and in March of 1943, Macneill became the commanding officer in charge of the ship. No other woman held a similar post in the commonwealth during the Second World War.[31] The example of Macneill does not exist in the Canadian army or in any other women's service in the Commonwealth. The Canadian navy was ahead of the other organizations through the roles and opportunities that it allowed its women to pursue.

Commander Isabel Macneill[32]

Female sailors had greater opportunities to learn new trades in the navy and perform new kinds of work due to the integration of personnel that the navy pursued. At HMCS *Conestoga,* female sailors held every position on the ship. Other than the occasional maintenance man, there were no men on the ship. This meant that the sailors on board held many jobs such as running sick bay, all of the accounting and finances, running the naval store, motor transport drivers and many other trades that were not considered traditionally female jobs. Although some of the jobs were considered female jobs, there was a great deal more responsibility given to the women on board *Conestoga* since they were in charge and made all of the decisions for the ship.[33]

WRENS from all over Canada performed the same kind of work performed on *Conestoga.* In December of 1943, Betty Allen a WREN transport driver, was the first woman chosen to drive the naval staff car used by the chief of naval staff for the Royal Canadian Navy.[34] In addition to driving, WRENS could hold all naval positions with the exception of trades on water bound ships since women were not allowed to make up part of the fighting force. This set the experience of female soldiers apart from their army counterparts since the trades available to women in the army were limited.

Wages are often a modern sign of equality between men and women. Upon the formation of the women's services, female soldiers were paid two thirds of what male soldiers made in the forces. This was consistent with what war industry was paying women at the time. However, servicewomen revolted at this since soldiers made less money than civilians did and they did not want to earn even less. In 1942, military decided to increase the wages earned by the soldiers to eighty per cent of the male soldiers salaries and to pay men and women who worked in trades equally. In the army,

tradeswomen were soldiers who worked as cooks, drivers, actual trades like firing artillery and in some clerk positions. These were common positions for women to fill at fifty per cent of the positions that women held.[35] At the time of the wage raise, the military allowed dependants allowances in the same amount that male soldiers dependants received in all three services.[36]

In addition to a greater equality in wages than in society, the female soldiers had the opportunity to enjoy other benefits of having joined the services. Female soldiers received disability pensions at the same rate as male soldiers.[37] They received benefits through the Veterans Land Act upon being discharged that they could take in cash or use to buy a home. They also had access to education benefits at the war's end that they could use to advance in university or to take industry courses or housekeeping courses depending on what sort of life they desired. Of the 50,000 women who volunteered to join the services, 2,000 went onto university and 8,000 enrolled in vocational training.[38] These opportunities were simply not as easily available to non-servicewomen.

Kay Hill was discharged in November of 1945. She had fallen in love in the army and was making arrangements for her marriage. Before she was able to leave, the army decided that she was too small at 98lbs and tried to put weight on her. Each day she had to drink a jug of eggnog at breakfast- to this day she cannot drink eggnog. It was an unsuccessful task as in the end she lost seven ounces and the army gave up and sent her home. Although Kay had hoped for a holiday at the war's end, the minister of her church would not allow it and insisted Kay to take a job at Eatons in the catalogue department the day after she was discharged. Not that Kay minded having a job, she had just hoped for a two-week vacation before she took one. With her discharge benefits, Kay

purchased a cedar chest, which she used as a hope chest and bunk beds when her first two children came along. She decided to get married and have a family rather than to use the education benefits and to this day is happy with her choice.

Jean Sivyer also decided against education when she was discharged from the army in 1945. She had also fallen in love in the army, but did not have immediate plans to marry. Jean wanted to make some money and felt that was more important than education at the time. She was also satisfied with her decision. Jean used her discharge benefits to make the down payment on her first home with her husband. That meant that the family home was placed in Jean's name instead of her husband's. Her husband had been injured during the war and received a pension that was just enough to cover the mortgage payments. Effectively the army bought the Sivyer's their first home.

Jean went to work at B.F. Goodrich at the end of the war. She was hired immediately over the other applicants because she was a veteran. She took a job that was traditionally considered a man's job. She flipped reeds, which meant that she attached wires coated with rubber to the tires to help maintain the tires' structure on the factory line. When the male soldier, whose job Jean had, returned from the war, the company gave the man the other shift and allowed Jean to keep her position. The woman who was working the other shift had more experience than Jean and had been at the plant longer, but Jean was a veteran so she was given preference in keeping the higher paying job.

Jean's post-war account suggests other benefits were given to the female veterans in hiring practices and that seniority was overlooked in cases where veterans were involved to allow them to keep the higher paying jobs. Female soldiers were also guaranteed that their pre-war jobs would be returned to them when they were discharged.

However, being a veteran appears to have given female soldiers the ability to find higher paying employment in the new jobs that had opened up to women in Waterloo County.

Commander Macneill went on to work for the Ontario government as the Director of Special Services for Wayward Girls. In that time, she headed the training schools in Coburg and then in Galt. In 1954, Macneill rejoined the navy upon the recreation of the Women's Royal Canadian Navy (WRCNS). She organized the WRCNS regular force until she retired in 1957.[39] Macneill's service for her country was exceptional and she set a high standard for all Canadian women with her accomplishments. It is through experiences such as hers that the potential for women's liberation during World War II is clearly seen and the leaders and possible role models of women's liberation begin to emerge.

In the process of women's liberation, the military provided more to its female soldiers than new opportunities, a new lifestyle and a greater equality of wages than society. The military gave them strength, self-confidence and independence. The changes that a woman experienced in the services stayed with her throughout her life. The transformation was eloquently described in a speech given by Capt. Mary Dover the Commandant of the CWAC Training Centre in Kitchener in 1942:

> Annie is a pretty little girl from an eastern province. A week after enlistment she had a pith helmet to keep off the sun and a respirator that dangled awkwardly behind her as she dashed about trying to keep up with this strange new life. She still wore a pink sweater and a brown skirt held up with braces. But in a very few weeks, like Sgt. Large, she'll stand tall and proud in her smart CWAC

uniform. She'll walk with poise and look people she meets straight in the eye. She'll have found her job in the army and will be doing it well.[40]

The pride that Annie can take in herself for getting through Basic Training and serving her county instilled the character traits that Capt. Dover mentions, and that pride was found in the soldiers that joined the forces throughout Waterloo County. Waterloo County CWACS Phyllis Dow, Mary Curley, and Emily Stuart all served overseas during the war. They all left gainful employment to serve their country. Mary Curley had owned and operated a beauty parlour that she closed up for the duration of the war and Emily Stuart was employed at Turnbull's. Irene Crabtree of Kitchener was a telephone operator before she became the third soldier to enlist in the CWACS. Verna Evans left a good job as an operator at the Canadian General Rubber Company to join the CWACS and Dorothy Deacon had also worked at Turnbull's. Edna Carthew left her position at the Dominion Life Assurance Company to join the WRENS and thought to be the most giving family in all of Canada, the Culligans, gave their five daughters Olive, Pearl, Carol, Ruby and Erma as well as their son to the Air Force- all of whom were gainfully employed before enlisting.[41]

Kay and Jean insisted that the army meant a lot to them. Before the army, they lived in their parent's homes and worked. They would hand over part of their money to their parents and listen to their rules and direction. Their parents ran their lives before the army as parents ran the lives of the many other girls who did not join the army. The difference was that after being discharged Kay and Jean ran their own lives, even though both women returned to their parent's homes for a time at the war's end. They grew up in the army, all the soldiers did. When you left the forces, you were a grown-up. In the

army their was no mommy to run to, you had to deal with everything that came up by yourself regardless of how difficult it was and that became life at the end of your tour. Both veterans expressed camaraderie with the male soldiers too. They were not second-class soldiers because they were women; rather they were doing their part, shoulder to shoulder with the men and were respected by the men for their integrity and for accepting the challenge.

Becoming self-sufficient in ways that these veterans never thought possible was the greatest impact that the army had on them. It was not a temporary change, but a permanent one that they carried through their lives. Independence, strength and the experience of life in the army were theirs to pass onto their daughters. Perhaps these teachings, passed on to the next generation by 50,000 female veterans contributed to the liberation of women. All Jean could say about the army for sure was that "before the army your whole life was your job so that you could make money and have fun. Then you were in the army and there was suddenly more to life."

Many of these themes appear in the historiography of women in the military in World War II. Ruth Pierson found in her study of the effects of the military on women at the National level that no real liberating effects came from women being part of the services in World War II. Part of the reason for this was that women in the military were only considered for support roles and were not allowed to be part of the fighting force, which she says is the main purpose of the military.[42] Women may only have been allowed to participate in support roles, but that in itself was a great step forward. Women had never been granted the opportunity to be part of the armed forces in any capacity until the Second World War. Their presence in this traditionally male dominated society

spoke volumes about how far our society would go to break with traditional gender roles to win the war. It provided women an opportunity to experience new challenges and to show society that they could perform in new tasks and jobs.

Another reason that Pierson argues the military did not contribute to the liberation of women is that women were mostly trained and worked in traditional female roles such as clerks, cooks, laundresses and waitresses. Although true to a point, there were other positions that women could obtain in the military. Pierson's work focuses on the CWAC, and does not consider the experiences of women in the other services. Women such as Kitchener's Doris Robinson held different positions that were not traditionally female jobs as a Navy Signaller. Commander Macneill of HMCS *Conestoga,* although an exceptional case, demonstrates that female sailors had a great deal of opportunity available to them that CWACS simply did not. The naval experience of the women in Waterloo County supports Barbara Winters assessment that the navy was different in the ways in which it viewed its women and provided them with greater opportunity and respect.[43]In addition, Weatherford has argued that the traditional jobs in the military were made new and interesting due to the context that they were performed in. That the procedures and language involved in military life made the tasks different then the way they would be performed in civilian life.[44] This was certainly the case for Jean Sivyer when she worked as a cook. Military orders ensured that she still lived within the parameters of military life, which she showed was quite different in many ways such as medical care and concerns as well as the volume of food that she was cooking.

Pierson argues that part of what is holding women back is that they were not paid the same rate as men for performing the same tasks in a government position and it took

the government some time before they decided to approve female soldiers to claim dependants allowances.[45] Notwithstanding, women in the armed forces received a greater wage equality than in civilian society and they did eventually win benefits for dependants. As Hartmann has argued in the American case, the GI Bill gave many benefits to both men and women that allowed women an opportunity to improve themselves with education benefits or to purchase a home or whatever they would choose.[46] These opportunities were also open to Canadian servicewomen. Women who had not joined the services would not have had the same access to education due to the cost involved and it was suggested that female veterans were also given preference in hiring practices and given access to higher paying jobs in industry due to their status.

Pierson's ultimate argument is that the military disbanded the women's divisions at the war's end showing that women had not gained a place in military society. Without continuity, there could be no progress for women's liberation.[47] On the national scale there was little done to advance women's liberation. That was not the purpose of opening the military to women; it was to help win the war. Continuity can be demonstrated by looking ahead to the early 1950's when the outbreak of the Korean War encouraged the government to reinstate the women's divisions, this time permanently. It shows that women have a place in the military in times of war and that they are a valuable part of the defence of the nation in times of crisis. The fact that they were permanently part of the armed forces after the Korean War could have been due to the Cold War and the fears of war that the Cold War caused.

Examining the military decisions at the national level also limits Pierson's ability to find changes within women and the smaller effects of the war that were part of the

increments of change that led to the women's revolution in the 1960s. Hartmann has argued that pride was a source of encouragement for women and that the military provided women a place for individual development and self-fulfillment.[48] Supporting her argument, Weatherford adds that women learned responsibility in the military and grew up fast. She also indicates that wearing a uniform gave women a chance to be part of something larger than ones self.[49] The experience of the soldiers in Kitchener demonstrated that growing up and learning to be self-sufficient was a large part of what the military taught the women who joined. These experiences support Hartmann and Weatherford's assumptions about how military service affected women's liberation. Kay Hall and Jean Sivyer both felt that they experienced personal growth during their time in the military and their families treated them different when they were discharged. Although still young, the veterans were adults.

Military service during World War II also afforded opportunity to women. Not just for education or a new adventure, but for freedom. Kay and Jean expressed that women in the 1940's traditionally lived in their parents home until they moved into their husband's house. Always living for and with other people, women had little opportunity to be free of household responsibility or to enjoy new experiences. The military was the first obvious way for girls to leave their parents home to find themselves and test their own abilities and resolve. They knew who they were when they finished their tour, but they also knew what they were capable of and that they did not need to rely on others to get by.

The final suggestion that the evidence creates is that joining the services was the most direct way to help the war effort. In a time of national emergency, these women

could see the results of their actions to help their country in a real and meaningful way. For example, cooking meals for the male soldiers while they trained helped to directly keep up the strength and health of the fighting force.

The community came to embrace the servicewomen and do what it could to provide them with recreation and supplies as well as the comforts of home while they were away from home. The soldiers themselves pushed their limits to discover everything they had within and then went further to support their country. The government provided opportunities through discharge benefits to help families afford homes or women to gain further education. In the end, it was the effect that the military had on the hearts and minds of the women that made it a liberating experience. Those who used the education benefits found more opportunities for employment than had previously been available to them and those who decided to get married right away or go back to the factories were happy with their choices, their lives and their accomplishments. These women were heroes in the same way the men were, they answered the call of their country in an emergency and did what they could to win the war. For this they were celebrated in Waterloo County's parades, memories and memorials as well as in Canada's memories.

Conclusion

Waterloo County's women were deeply involved in supporting the war effort during the Second World War. Their efforts were recognized in the papers and through post-war banquets that served to thank the women for their various war work at the factories and community centres throughout the county. Memorials were erected to remember the men and women who served in the armed forces at the war's end in the form of memorial hockey auditoriums, plaques and statues. The WRENS were remembered, in Galt in 1972, with a bronze statue of a female sailor in uniform named "Jenny WREN". The CWACS were not forgotten, but did not receive an official memorial until May 5, 2001, when the Waterloo Heritage Foundation and other contributors rewarded the tireless efforts of Kay Hall and Jean Sivyer for remberance of the CWAC Training Centre in Kitchener. A bronze statue of a CWAC in uniform along with a plaque was raised on the grounds of the former Training Centre, which now houses the General Bean Armoury of Kitchener's army reserve unit.

The efforts of Waterloo County's women served the cause of the war and the cause of women's liberation. The new roles that women had opened up were not only changing the way they viewed themselves, but also the ways in which they were portrayed in popular culture and advertising. Women in the newspapers' advertisements were shown in uniform and in workingwomen's uniforms. In comics, women were no longer the victim waiting to be saved by a masculine superhero, but were now the heroes themselves. Women assisted men in saving the world from evil villains and in solving mysteries as well as starring in their own roles. More subtle changes occurred through the language and pictures of what women were doing. No longer simply housewives,

women could now be housewives and much more in the world of advertising and popular culture.

Women's volunteerism throughout the war, revitalized women's organizations. More than just social clubs, the women's organizations worked to better their communities through helping the downtrodden find clothing and shelter and supporting other aspects of the community through efforts such as raising money for health care and sporting leagues for children. This work, combined with the wartime work of these organizations proved that women were a valuable part of the community. That is why many of the organizations like the Patriotic committee of the Ayr Women's Institute and the Women's Voluntary Services continued their war work in the community in the post-war despite only being created to serve the needs of the war.

Women volunteers grew to see themselves and the ideas of womanhood in new ways as women participated in a growing number of new tasks and jobs. No longer was a woman's place solely in her home, but now it could be wherever new opportunities arose. Speeches at annual meetings no longer focused on family planning and traditional female roles, but now served to inform women of new opportunities for employment and education as well as feminine concerns. The definition of womanhood was growing to include many of the new images and desires that were forged during the war and these were reflected in the new values expressed about woman in the speeches at the Kitchener YWCA in the post-war years.

Much of the progress that women made towards equality in Waterloo County was found in the new roles and various changes that women experienced in the workforce. The new working women had access to higher paying industrial jobs and although they

were still not earning wages equal to men's, women were better able to support themselves with these new jobs than in the work that was previously available to them. In addition, having higher earnings gave women a larger share of the marketplace than they had in the years before the war. This made women's concerns a target of advertising and invention in the commercial society that emerged in the post-war.

Women's needs were recognized in the workplace as well and this created permanent changes in the way in which some companies ran their businesses and how they treated their employees. In the post-war, the demand for female labour was high in Waterloo County and many women were simply not taking the available jobs. In response business tried to court potential female employees through offering new incentives that began to surface during the war. Paying higher wages during training periods, room and board and transportation costs to and from work were offered to help ease the financial burdens of taking a job. Social incentives such as sports leagues and facilities were advertised to female workers as well as factory clubs and other social groups. Furthermore, the introduction of other benefits such as holiday pay were also being advertised to potential female employees. This demonstrated that women had become an important part of the workforce and that employers were willing to provide the extras that women had expressed an interest in while employed during the war.

At the end of the war, the percentage of women in Waterloo County's workforce dropped as it did across Canada. Notwithstanding, the women of Waterloo County had chosen not to remain in the workforce. There were thousands of job vacancies throughout the county and many advertisements every day for female workers to return to or join the workforce. There was also a variety of jobs available to women which

allowed them to choose the type of employment they wanted to perform from heavy manufacturing work to the lighter work of a store clerk. This demonstrates that the women of Waterloo County had proven their worth in the workforce and opened many doors for themselves. More options and opportunities were the result of their labour in Waterloo County.

The military women of Waterloo County were also accepted and catered to. The opening of the CWAC and WREN Training Centres received good responses from the local volunteer organizations for women and through church groups. The community set up a committees of citizens to look after the needs of the soldiers and sailors to make them feel welcome to the area and members of the community welcomed the sailors and soldiers into their homes for Sunday meals and some quiet time away from the bases to do their part for the CWACS and WRENS.

For the servicewomen themselves, the military service allowed them to have new experiences through army life and the new language and surroundings that the navy also provided. Marching for miles and learning military discipline pushed the volunteers to the edge and they found out what they could accomplish when they pushed themselves. The military women of Waterloo County served proudly and several went on to receive positions of responsibility such as Doris Robinson who was posted as a Visual Signaller in the navy.

The military afforded female veterans discharge benefits that were equivalent to those that men received allowing women to better themselves and grasp new opportunities. Veterans like Jean Sivyer were able to make down payments on homes for their families and place the family home in their names. Other veterans were able to use

their discharge benefits to help furnish their family home, as when Kay Hall used her benefits to buy bunk beds for her children. In both cases, the army was able to help the soldiers settle down after the war into the lives that they wanted. Twenty per cent of female military veterans were able to use the education benefits to learn new vocations, ways to maintain their new homes and their family's health and gain a university education. These benefits provided female veterans with new opportunities and helped individuals to meet their goals.

The most important change that the military gave its women, was a new sense of self. Self-sufficiency, independence and responsibility were all part of the training. Veterans knew that they could rely on themselves to provide for their needs and wants and that they could run their own lives and households. They also could be proud in the legacy they were leaving as the first Canadian women to serve in the military, even if it was in limited capacities, these soldiers had set a precedent that would be remembered in the early 1950s at the outbreak of the Korean War.

The Women of Waterloo County had proven themselves in the man's world and they were not willing to give back all that they accomplished or to put an end to all the new things that they had experienced. Nor did Waterloo County expect them to. Opportunity was the main change that women created in their step towards liberation. Throughout the war, the area's women opened many doors that had previously been closed to them and at the end of the war many of those doors remained open. Women also had a newfound confidence and an expanding definition of what it meant to be a woman.

The experiences of Waterloo County's women during the Second World War do differ from the national thesis provided by Ruth Pierson. They demonstrate that the women of this area did take steps towards a greater sharing of power within the community and closer equality with men in the workforce. This raises questions about the differences between the experiences of women in urban industrial centres during the war versus women who lived in small towns and rural areas.

Pierson demonstrates that the overall percentage of women in the workforce declined throughout the post-war. However, that is not the case in Waterloo County. In fact, statistics show that other urban industrial areas experienced numbers closer to those of Waterloo County than the national average regarding the percentage of women in the workforce during the war and into the post-war. In Montreal, Toronto, Regina and Edmonton, as well as several other cities in Canada, the percentage that women made up of the workforce never dropped below thirty percent and there were also thousands of employment vacancies recorded in these areas in the post-war.[1] Although outside the scope of this study, these statistics were recorded in the research notes to see if similar numbers occurred in other areas of Canada out of interest. What type of positions were available to the women in these other communities is unknown and whether the vacancies were aimed at women as well as men is also unknown. What the numbers do suggest is that there could be a correlation between urban industrial areas and greater progress towards liberation, in these areas, due to women's experiences in World War II.

Another interesting question that this study raises is "who were the Canadian feminists of the sixties and where did they come from?" Were the majority of the women in the front lines of the women's liberation movement from these urban industrial areas?

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[1] Department of Labour, *The Labour Gazette*. January 1946, page 84 and 98-100.

Did the protests occur in these areas? There could be greater links between the legacy of the women's experiences and changes that came out of World War II and the women who led the women's movements later that Canadians are unaware of.

The women of Waterloo County had new opportunities and experiences as a result of the Second World War, that the top down research provided by Ruth Roach Pierson does not allow for. Pierson's work provides insights into the ways in which the Canadian government sanctioned gender stereotypes and used the labour of its women without respecting them as equals to men in the military and within society. The experiences of the Women of Waterloo County have shown that at the regional level women were able to effect change towards equality and liberation in this county and statistics suggest that perhaps Waterloo County's women did not have a unique experience among Canadian women.

Statistics provided by the Kitchener-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce Survey 1943.

Business Employment Canvass

Composition of Working Force

Industrial Classification	A. Male Employees		
Manufacturing	**1939**	**1943**	**Estimated Post-War**
Food processing	902	931	1,187
Automobile Equipment	2,108	2,347	2,495
Furniture and Wood Products	1,201	1,133	1,541
Electrical Equipment	277	911	423
Steel and Iron Products	596	1,694	1,173
Textiles and Clothing	597	591	745
Brewing and Distilling	286	337	336
Leather and Boots and Shoes	908	1,119	1,119
Printing and Publishing	115	105	125
Miscellaneous	96	96	106
Total	**7,086**	**9,264**	**9,250**
Finance	441	301	430
Trade	1,200	1,258	1,440
Services	221	197	238
Transportation and Communications	100	142	158
Construction	191	249	249
Grand Total	**9,239**	**11,411**	**11,765**

Business Employment Canvass

2. Composition of Working Force

Industrial Classification	B. Female Employees		
Manufacturing	**1939**	**1943**	**Estimated Post-War**
Food processing	263	567	664

Automobile Equipment	1,013	1,456	1,357
Furniture and Wood Products	55	224	228
Electrical Equipment	143	658	227
Steel and Iron Products	41	362	289
Textiles and Clothing	1,211	1,327	1,604
Brewing and Distilling	73	91	118
Leather and Boots and Shoes	240	337	327
Printing and Publishing	23	30	35
Miscellaneous	52	78	80
Total	**3,114**	**5,130**	**4,929**
Finance	378	608	486
Trade	618	860	802
Services	88	157	143
Transportation and Communications	88	63	62
Construction	2	6	5
Grand Total	**4,288**	**6,824**	**6,427**

Business Employment Canvass

2. Composition of Working Force

Industrial Classification	C. Total Male and Female Employees		
Manufacturing	**1939**	**1943**	**Estimated Post-War**
Food processing	1,165	1,498	1,851
Automobile Equipment	3,121	3,803	3,852
Furniture and Wood Products	1,256	1,357	1,769
Electrical Equipment	420	1,569	650
Steel and Iron Products	637	2,056	1,462
Textiles and Clothing	1,808	1,918	2,349
Brewing and Distilling	359	428	454
Leather and Boots and Shoes	1,148	1,456	1,446
Printing and Publishing	138	135	160
Miscellaneous	148	174	186

Total	**10,200**	**14,394**	**14,179**
Finance	819	909	916
Trade	1,818	2,118	2,242
Services	309	354	381
Transportation and Communications	188	205	220
Construction	193	255	254
Grand Total	**13,527**	**18,235**	**18,192**

Based on a canvass of all enterprises in Kitchener-Waterloo

Endnotes

Historiographical Introduction

1. Ruth Roach Pierson. *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986) Page 9.
2. Karen Anderson. *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War Two.* (London, England: Greenwood Press, 1981)
3. Ruth Roach Pierson. Page 40.
4. Jeff Keshen. " Revisiting Canada's Civilian Women During World War Two," *HS/sh.* November, 1997. Page 244.
5. Jeff Keshen, page 245.
6. Jeff Keshen, page 244.
7. Jeff Keshen. Page 245...the second quotation runs over to page 246.
8. Ruth Pierson, page 22.
9. Ruth Pierson, page 23.
10. Ruth Pierson, page 47.
11. Ruth Pierson, page 58.
12. Ruth Pierson, page 215.
13. Ruth Pierson, page 48-49.
14. Sherna Berger Gluck. *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change.* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987) page 261.
15. Gluck, page 263.
16. Doris Weatherford. *American Women and World War II.* (New York: Facts on File, 1990) Pages 182-184 offer a discussion of the various ways that women changed the workforce.
17. Doris Weatherford, page 308.
18. Ruth Pierson, page 104-110 provides a discussion of the various trades and jobs available to army women and a description of what the jobs entail.
19. Barbara Winters. "The WRENS of the Second World War: Their Place in the History of Canadian Servicewomen" in Hadley, Michael et al editors, *A Nation's Navy: In Quest of Canadian Naval Identity.* (McGill Queen's University Press, 1996) 283
20. Ibid, 284.
21. Ibid, 284.
22. Doris Weatherford, page 63.
23. Doris Weatherford, page 79.
24. Ruth Pierson, page 144. A discussion of advertising images along similar lines is found on pages 153-154. Some of the ideas expressed in that section expand on the ideas of military images in advertising through discussing women in the workforce and general ads in magazines and those ideas have been applied to this section.
25. Jeff Keshen, page242.
26. Susan Hartmann. *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.
27. Jeff Keshen, page 264.

28. Doris Weatherford, page 18.
29. Doris Weatherford, page 52.
30. Doris Weatherford, page 62.

Chapter One: Waterloo County's Women's Volunteer Groups and Domestic Soldiers Report for Duty

1. Kitchener Daily Record. September 5, 1939.
2. Ibid, September 5, 1939.
3. Ibid, September 14, 1939.
4. City of Kitchener Archives. Ayr Women's Institute Records, Tweedsmere Series.
5. Kitchener Daily Record. February 5, 1943.
6. Geoff Hayes. *Waterloo County: An Illustrated History.* (Waterloo: Waterloo Historical Society, 1997) Page 169-170.
7. Kitchener Daily Record. May 19, 1944.
8. The Kitchener Daily Record contained a women's section, to my knowledge, since before World War 1 and possibly even earlier. It was generally a gossip column about marriages and local peoples, but during the war it was used to promote volunteerism and joining the services and industry as well as gossip. A scan of headlines in the women's section of the Kitchener Daily record between 1946-1947 revealed many headlines concerning Women's Volunteer organizations and their efforts towards both the community and refugees were a regular occurrence.
9. Kitchener Daily Record. September 15, 1945.
10. Beth Milroy, study notes for the article "Communities, Work and Public/Private Sphere Models," University of Waterloo Library, Women's Studies Collection, 1994.
11. Kitchener Daily Record, December 17, 1942.
12. Ibid, August 16, 1945.
13. Ibid, January 31, 1940. See also the YWCA Archives. University of Waterloo Rare Book Room.
14. Ibid, February 6, 1942.
15. Ibid, February 5, 1943.
16. YWCA archives, minutes of annual meetings.
17. Kitchener Daily Record, February 13, 1946.
18. Ibid, February 13, 1947.
19. Ruth Pierson, 40.
20. Jeff Keshen, 244.

Chapter Two: Waterloo County's Female Workforce Sign's Up to Support the War

1. John English and Kenneth McLaughlin. *Kitchener: An Illustrated History.* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1996) Page 166 (5th largest manufacturing output) and 167 (war contracts awarded to companies)
2. Geoff Hayes, 167 for the increased number in the labour force, the wage increases and the number of women in the workforce from 1941-1943. Department of

Labour, Canada. *The Labour Gazette* (Ottawa: King's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1946.) January 1946 contained the statistics for the peak number of women workers.

3. Kitchener Daily Record, April 27, 1942.
4. Ibid, September 2, 1941.
5. Ibid, February 6, 1942.
6. Ibid, February 6, 1942.
7. Ibid, August 13, 1942.
8. Ibid, August 28, 1942.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid, June 17, 1941.
12. Ibid, February 5, 1942.
13. Ibid, May 19, 1944.
14. Ibid.
15. Terry Copp, *Industrial Unionism in Kitchener 1937-47.* (Elora Ontario: Cumnock Press, 1976) Appendix A. Charts for the statistics are in Appendix A of this thesis.
16. Ibid.
17. Kitchener Daily Record, August 18, 1945.
18. Ibid. See August 10, 1945 for the specific job listings mentioned in this section.
19. Ibid, June 18, 1946.
20. Geoff Hayes, the statistics for 1939 and 1943 are for Waterloo County cited in Hayes, 167. Department of Labour, Labour Gazette. The rest of the statistics are for Kitchener-Waterloo cited in the January 1946 issue, 84.
21. Department of Labour, *Labour Gazette.* January 1946, 99.
22. Ibid, November 1947, 1707.
23. Ruth Roach Pierson, 215.
24. Ibid, 22.
25. Ibid, 23.
26. Pierson, 48-49.
27. Pierson, 52.
28. Susan Hartmann, 95.
29. Doris Weatherford, 308.
30. Doris Weatherford, A discussion of the changes women created in the workforce occurs between pages 182-185.
31. Sherna Berger Gluck, 261.

Chapter Three: Visual Images of Women in the Press

1. Kitchener Daily Record, May 11, 1942.
2. The Galt Reporter, June 15, 1943.
3. Ibid, December 23, 1943.
4. Kitchener Daily Record, June 8, 1945.
5. Ibid, June 8, 1945.
6. Ibid, June 4, 1946.

Chapter Four: It's a Different World, Waterloo County's and the Women's Armed Forces

1. Geoff Hayes. *Waterloo County: An Illustrated History.* (Waterloo: Waterloo Historical Society, 1997) page 133.
2. Interview with Kay Hall, July 3, 2002.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Kitchener Daily Record, October 22, 1942.
6. Ibid, February 5, 1943.
7. Ibid, August 9, 1945 (picnic at Barber's Beach) August 16, 1945 (leading impromptu parade)
8. Ibid, August 9, 1945.
9. Interview with Kay Hall, July 3, 2002.
10. Department of National Defence. *Canadian Women's Army Corps Newsletter.* November 1944. 3.
11. Ibid, December 1944, 14.
12. Galt Reporter, December 14, 1943.
13. City of Cambridge Archives, Sub-Lieut. Florence Whyard, WRCNS, "His Majesty's Canadian Ship Conestoga. 10 - 11.
14. Ibid, 6.
15. Kitchener Daily Record, February 4, 1943.
16. Ibid, August 20, 1944.
17. Galt Reporter, June 11, 1943.
18. Ibid, June 15, 1943.
19. Kitchener Daily Record, August 22, 1944.
20. Hugh Conrad. *Athene Goddess of War: The Canadian Women's Army Corps, Their Story.* (Nova Scotia: Writing and Editorial Services, 1983) page 91-92.
21. The Galt Reporter, June 7, 1943.
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